VITTORIO EM. III

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PLUTARCH's LIVES,

Abridged from the

ORIGINAL GREEK,

Illuſtrated with

NOTES and REFLECTIONS,

And embelliſhed with

COPPER-PLATE PRINTS.

VOLUME the THIRD.

Containing the LIVES of

PELOPIDAS,	PHILOPOEMEN,
MARCELLUS,	T. Q. FLAMINIUS,
ARISTIDES,	AND
CATO THE CENSOR,	PYRRHUS.

LONDON:
Printed for J. NEWBERY, at the Bible and Sun, in St. Paul's Church-yard.

MDCCLXII.

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THE

LIFE

OF

PELOPIDAS.

IT is ſaid that in the army of king *Antigonus*, was a ſoldier, who, tho' he had an unhealthful complexion, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his uncommon bravery, on which the king ordered his phyſicians to take him under their care, and to ſpare no pains for his cure. The ſoldier was ſoon perfectly recovered from a very painful diſeaſe; but with the return of his health, he loſt his contempt of danger, when *Antigonus*, to his great ſurprize, finding him leſs daring in battle, reproached

him with the change, on which the ſoldier replied, "You, Sir, are the cauſe of my be-"ing leſs deſperate than before, by deliver-"ing me from that miſery which rendered "life a burthen." Indeed there is no virtue in behaving with the greateſt ſeeming intrepidity, when that only proceeds from an averſion to life: nor is there any diſgrace in endeavouring to avoid death, when it may be done without ſhame or diſhonour. Hence the *Grecian* legiſlators puniſhed any one who threw away his ſhield, though they excuſed the loſs of a ſword or ſpear; to intimate that ſelf-preſervation, eſpecially in the general of an army, or the governor of a city, is to be preferred to hurting an enemy. For if, like *Iphicrates*, we compare the light-armed troops to the hands, the cavalry to the feet, the main body to the breaſt, the general to the head, that general who ſuffers himſelf to be carried too far by his martial ardour, not only hazards his own perſon, but the lives of all whoſe ſafety depends on his. Indeed where the ſucceſs can only be expected from the general's expoſing himſelf, he ought not to ſpare his perſon; but to exert himſelf to the utmoſt, without paying the leaſt regard to the maxims of thoſe who pretend, that a general ought to die of old age. But where a victory would be attended with only an inconſiderable advantage, and a defeat with deſtructive conſequences, none ſhould deſire him to perform the part of a common ſoldier, by hazarding the loſs of a general.

This

This I thought proper to premiſe before the lives of *Pelopidas* and *Marcellus*, great men, who periſhed by their raſhneſs; for each having done honour to his country by his glorious exploits, ventured too far, and threw away their lives when their country moſt wanted ſuch brave men, and ſuch ſkilful commanders.

Pelopidas was deſcended from a noble family in *Thebes* *, and was brought up in plenty and opulence. To ſhew that he was not a ſlave to his riches, he, on his early poſſeſſing a large eſtate, made it his buſineſs to relieve the indigent and deſerving; but though others thankfully partook of his bounty, *Epaminondas* was the only one among his friends that could not be prevailed on to ſhare his wealth: on which *Pelopidas* condeſcending to ſtoop to his poverty, took a pleaſure in wearing ordinary apparel, in the frugality of his table, and in his unwearied labour.

Though *Epaminondas* was alſo of a noble family, yet poverty was familiar and hereditary to him; and he rendered it ſtill more eaſy, by philoſophy and the uniform ſimplicity of his life. *Pelipidas* married into a good family, and had many children, yet continu-

* This was a city of *Achaia* in *Greece*, now a province of *Turky* in *Europe*. It was ſituated near the place where *Thiva* now ſtands, and ought not to be confounded with *Thebes* in upper *Egypt*, of which a curious deſcription may be ſeen in The *World Diſplayed*, Vol XII. pag. 145—165.

ed indifferent with reſpect to wealth, notwithſtanding the encreaſe of his expences; and by ſpending his time in the ſervice of the public, impaired his eſtate. He and *Epaminondas* had naturally the ſame virtuous diſpoſitions; but *Pelopidas* was fonder of bodily exerciſes, and *Epaminondas* of the improvements of the mind; ſo that the one ſpent all his leiſure time in hunting, and wreſtling; the other in the ſtudy of philoſophy and learned converſations: but they were chiefly celebrated for that ſtrict friendſhip, which they inviolably preſerved through the whole courſe of their lives, without the leaſt ſpark of that jealouſy and envy, which ſubſiſted between *Themiſtocles* and *Ariſtides*, *Cimon* and *Pericles*, *Nicias* and *Alcibiades*. The virtue of *Pelipodas* and *Epaminondas* preſerving them from aiming at wealth and fame, they were equally inflamed with a noble ardour for rendering their country proſperous and happy, and conſidered each other's ſucceſs as their own.

According to moſt authors, this ſtrict friendſhip did not begin till the battle of *Mantinea* *, in which the *Thebans* ſuccoured the *Lacedæmonians*, then their friends and allies, againſt the *Arcadians*. In that battle they fought near each other in one of the wings of the *Lacedæmonian* infantry; and that wing be-

* This battle ought not to be confounded with the battle of *Mantinea*, in which *Epaminondas* loſt his life, fighting againſt the *Lacedæmonians*.

ing

ing broken, they joined their ſhields, and bravely repulſed all that attacked them; till *Pelopidas*, after receiving ſeven large wounds, fell on a heap of friends and enemies. Tho' *Epaminondas* believed him ſlain, he ſtept before him to defend his body and arms, and long maintained his ground againſt great numbers of *Arcadians*; reſolving to die rather than deſert his companion, and leave him in the power of the enemy; but being wounded in his breaſt by a ſpear, and in his arm by a ſword, he was diſabled and ready to fall, when *Ageſipolis*, king of the *Spartans*, coming unexpectedly to their relief, ſaved both their lives.

The *Lacedæmonians* after this battle treated the *Thebans* as friends and allies, though they were realy jealous of their encreaſing power. In particular they conceived an averſion to the party of *Iſmenias* and *Androclides*, in which *Pelopidas* was aſſociated, from their thinking them too zealous for liberty and a popular government. At length *Archias*, *Leontidas* and *Philip*, three rich and ambitious *Thebans*, propoſed to *Phœbidas*, a *Spartan* commander, who was marching by *Thebes* with a body of troops, to ſeize the caſtle, and put the government into the hands of the nobility. This propoſal being approved, *Phœbidas* made himſelf maſter of the caſtle during the feaſt of *Ceres*, when the *Thebans* little expected any act of hoſtility. *Iſmenias* was taken, and ſoon after put to death; but *Androclides*, *Pelopidas*, and many others fled, on which they were condemned to perpetual baniſhment. Mean while

minondas ſtill remaining at *Thebes*, was diſregarded as one who, from his fondneſs for philoſophy and his poverty, had no inclination to attempt, nor the power to execute any great undertaking.

The *Lacedæmonians* hearing what *Phœbidas* had done, not only deprived him of the command, but fined him an hundred thouſand drachmas *, and yet continued to keep a garriſon in the caſtle, tho' all *Greece* was ſurprized at the ridiculous abſurdity of puniſhing the actor, and yet authorizing and confirming the action. The *Thebans* having thus loſt their ancient form of government, were enſlaved by *Archias* and *Leontidas*, and had no hopes of being freed from a tyranny ſupported by the *Spartans*; as their yoke could only be broken by a power capable of depriving them of the ſuperiority they enjoyed both by ſea and land.

Leontidas hearing that the exiles had retired to *Athens*, where they were kindly received, diſpatched after them ſome aſſaſſins, who murdered *Androclides*, but all the reſt eſcaped. The *Athenians* alſo received letters from *Lacedæmon*, exhorting them to expel the exiles, as the common enemies of *Greece*. But the *Athenians* thought themſelves obliged to make a grateful return to the *Thebans*, for the aſſiſtance they had given them in reſtoring their democracy.

* About two thouſand and twenty pounds ſterling.

But

But though *Pelopidas* was then very young, he privately ſpoke to every exile, and often in their public meetings repreſented the diſhonour of neglecting their enſlaved and captive country, while they ought to run every hazard in ſo glorious a cauſe, taking courage from the example of *Thraſybulus*; for as he marched from *Thebes*, and broke the power of the tyrants in *Athens*, they ought to march from *Athens*, and deliver *Thebes*. Being perſuaded by this diſcourſe, they ſent ſecretly to *Thebes* to inform their friends of their deſigns, which they highly approved. *Charon*, a perſon of great diſtinction in the city, offered to receive them in his own houſe. *Philidas*, another of the party, found the means of being made ſecretary to *Philip* and *Archias*, who were then Polemarchs, and *Epaminondas* had all along taken pains to inſpire the youth with courage and magnanimity.

The day being fixed, the exiles agreed that *Pherenicus* with the reſt, ſhould ſtay at *Thriaſium* *, while ſome of the young men ſhould endeavour to get into the city, and if they were killed, the others ſhould provide for their familes. *Pelopidas* offered to be of the party, and after him *Melon*, *Damoclidas* and *Theopompus*, all perſons of the greateſt families in *Thebes*, and intimate friends. The whole number amounted to twelve, who taking leave of their companions, ſet forward meanly dreſſed, taking with them hounds,

* A little town not far from *Thebes*.

and

and each carrying a ſtaff in his hand, that they might be taken by theſe that met them on the road, for hunters ſtraggling about in purſuit of game. Before they came to the city, they ſeparated, and entered at different places. As it was the beginning of winter, the falling ſnow and a ſharp wind, which made moſt of the citizens ſtay in their houſes, contributed to their paſſing undiſcovered, and being received by thoſe who were in the ſecret, they immediately went to *Charon*'s houſe, where being joined by the others, they altogether amounted to forty eight.

Mean while *Philidas*, ſecretary to the tyrants, who, as hath been already obſerved, was an accomplice, was giving an entertainment at his own houſe to *Archias* and his friends, and had promiſed to provide ſome women of pleaſure to meet them there. But they had not been long at table before a rumour was ſpread among them, that the exiles were concealed in the city. *Philidas* endeavoured all in his power to divert the diſcourſe: but *Archias* ſent an officer to *Charon* to command his immediate attendance.

As it was now growing dark, *Pelopidas* and his friends had put on their armour, and were preparing for action, when they were ſuddenly alarmed by a loud knocking at the door, and were preſently informed, that an officer was come with an order to bring *Charon* to *Archias*. Struck at this news, every one believed that the plot was diſcovered, and that they ſhould all periſh without being able to perform

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CHARON offers his son as a Hostage to PELOPIDAS, and his other Friends

perform any exploit worthy of their bravery and reſolution. They were however unanimouſly of opinion that *Charon* ſhould boldly obey the order. On which he brought out his only ſon who was young, but of remarkable ſtrength and beauty, and delivering him to *Pelopidas*, cried, "If you find me a traitor "uſe this boy as an enemy, and be cruel in "his execution." This behaviour gave them the greateſt concern, and entreating him not to imagine that they had the leaſt ſuſpicion of his fidelity, they earneſtly beſought him to cauſe his ſon to be removed to a place of ſafety, that if he was ſo happy as to eſcape the fury of the tyrants, he might one day revenge his friends and his country. But *Charon* cried, "What life, what ſafety can "be more honourable than dying bravely "with his father, and ſo many generous "friends?" Then imploring the protection of the gods, and embracing them all, he departed.

Charon as he went along endeavoured to recollect and compoſe himſelf, and being come to the houſe, *Philip* and *Archias* went to him to the door, and enquired, what perſons were lately come to town, and were concealed by the citizens? On which *Charon* aſked who they meant? and by whom were they concealed? when perceiving that they had no certain knowledge of the affair, he deſired them not to give themſelves any diſturbance about a vain rumour; adding, that he would make the beſt enquiry he could, as ſuch things ought

ought not to be neglected. *Philidas* then appearing, commended his prudence, and returning back with *Archias* to the company, drank him up to a high pitch; prolonging the entertainment, by telling them the women were coming.

Scarce was this ſtorm blown over, when an expreſs arrived from *Archias*, high prieſt of *Athens*, to *Archias* of *Thebes*, his particular friend; and the courier delivering him letters that contained a full and exact account of the whole conſpiracy, told him, that the perſon who wrote them entreated him to read them immediately, as they contained buſineſs of the utmoſt conſequence. But *Archias* having drank himſelf mellow, took the letters, and ſaying with a ſmile, *Buſineſs to-morrow*, put them under the boulſter of the couch, and reſumed his converſation with *Philidas*.

Every thing being at length ripe for action, the conſpirators iſſued out, and dividing into two bodies; one under the command of *Pelopidas* and *Damoclidas*, went to the houſes of *Leontidas* and *Hypates*, while the others, under the conduct of *Charon* and *Melon*, haſted to attac *Archias* and *Philip*; theſe wore womens cloaths over their armour, and branches of pine and poplar about their heads to ſhade their faces. On their entering the room, the whole company ſhouted for joy, thinking them the women they had ſo long expected. But the conſpirators looking around them to obſerve who were preſent, ſuddenly drew their ſwords, and attacked *Archias* and *Philip* acroſs the table. By the perſuaſions of *Philidas*, a few of the

the gueſts were induced to ſit ſtill; while the reſt, who roſe up to defend themſelves, and aſſiſt their chiefs, being intoxicated, were eaſily diſpatched.

Mean while *Pelopidas* and his party going to the houſe of *Leontidas*, found the doors ſhut; for he was already gone to bed. They knocked a long time before any body anſwered: at laſt, being heard by a ſervant, he came to the door, but ſcarce had he unbolted, and half opened it, than ruſhing in all together, they threw him down, and ran up ſtairs to *Leontidas*'s chamber. *Leontidas* hearing the noiſe, leaped out of bed and ſeized his ſword; but forgot to put out the lights, which had he done, they might have fallen foul on each other in the dark, and given him an opportunity of eſcaping. He received them at the door, and ſtabbed the firſt man who attempted to enter. He was then attacked by *Pelopidas*; but the paſſage being narrow, and the dead body lying between them, they fought a conſiderable time, till at laſt *Pelopidas* killed him. They then went in ſearch of *Hypates*, and entered his houſe in the ſame manner; but he being alarmed at the noiſe, eſcaped to a neighbour's houſe, when being cloſely followed, he was overtaken and ſlain.

This party having thus performed their taſk, went to join *Melon*; and ſending to haſten the exiles they had left in *Attica*, proclaimed liberty to all the *Thebans*. Then taking down the ſpoils that hung over the porticos, and breaking open the ſhops of the armourers and

ſword-

ſword-cutlers, they armed all that came to their aſſiſtance. In the mean time *Epaminondas* and *Gorgidas* having aſſembled and armed a great body of young men, and ſome of the ſtrongeſt of the old, came in and joined them.

By this time the whole city was filled with terror and confuſion; the houſes were full of lights, and the ſtreets of people running backwards and forwards: all were filled with amazement, and knowing nothing with certainty of what had happened, waited impatiently for the day. The *Spartan* garriſon, which then conſiſted of fifteen hundred men, and were beſides joined by many of the citizens, were in ſuch conſternation at the outcries, numerous lights, and confuſed hurry of the people, that they did not attempt to move, but were contented with preſerving the caſtle.

Day no ſooner appeared than the exiles from *Attica* entered the city in arms, and there was held a general aſſembly of the people; to which *Epaminondas* and *Gorgidas* brought *Pelopidas* and his party, encompaſſed by the prieſts carrying garlands in their hands, and exhorting the people to fight for their gods and their country. At this ſight the whole aſſembly roſe up, and with the loudeſt acclamations received them as the deliverers of their country. *Pelopidas* was appointed governor of *Bœotia*, and he, with *Melon* and *Charon*, immediately blocked up the caſtle, in order to get poſſeſſion of it before any ſuccours could arrive from *Sparta:* Indeed he was but a little

a little before hand with them; for the *Lacedæmonians* had ſcarce ſurrendered the place, and according to the capitulation were returning home, when they met *Cleombrotus* marching towards *Thebes* with a powerful army. The three chief commanders were called to an account for ſigning the capitulation, and for this two of them were executed, and the third ſo ſeverely fined, that, being unable to pay the ſum, he was forced to fly his country.

This action nearly reſembles that by which *Thraſybulus* reſtored the liberty of *Athens*; but it would be difficult to find another inſtance, in which ſo inconſiderable a number of men, by their conduct and bravery, overcame ſuch a powerful oppoſition, and procured ſuch ſignal advantages to their country: for *Pelopidas*, with his eleven brave companions, without taking a caſtle, a fortification, or a town, in one night, by entering two or three private houſes, freed his country, and broke in pieces the chains of the *Spartan* government, which till then had been thought indiſſoluble, and gave riſe to a war that humbled the pride of the *Spartans*, and deprived them of their empire both by ſea and land.

Soon after the *Thebans* had thus recovered their liberty, the *Lacedæmonians* entering *Bœotia* with a powerful army, the *Athenians* were ſo terrified, that they not only deſerted the intereſt of the *Thebans*, but proſecuted all who continued to favour them; putting ſome to death, baniſhing others, and laying a hea-

vy fine on the reſt. The affairs of the *Thebans*, who had no friend or ally, now ſeemed in a deſperate ſituation: but *Pelopidas* and *Gorgidas*, then governors of *Bœotia*, conſulting how to produce a freſh quarrel between the *Athenians* and *Spartans*, agreed on the following expedient. *Sphodrius* a *Spartan* of great courage, but always full of vain and ambitious projects, had been left at *Theſpæ* with a body of troops to receive and protect ſuch *Bœotians*, as deſerting the intereſt of their country, ſhould join the *Spartans*. To him *Pelopidas* privately ſent money, and at the ſame time ſuch advice as was moſt proper to flatter his vanity; particularly, that he ought to undertake ſome noble enterprize, and that as nothing could be ſo agreeable to the *Spartans* as the conqueſt of *Athens*, he might make a ſudden incurſion on the unprovided *Athenians* and ſurprize the *Piræus*: for the *Thebans*, now hating the *Athenians*, would lend them no manner of aſſiſtance. *Sphodrias* perſuaded by theſe reaſons, marched by night, and entering *Attica* in an hoſtile manner, advanced as far as *Eleuſis*, but finding his deſign diſcovered, returned to *Theſpæ*. Immediately upon this the *Athenians* entered into a new alliance with the *Thebans*, and aſſiſted them to the utmoſt of their power.

Mean while the *Lacedæmonians* were ſeveral times defeated by the *Thebans*, not only in ſeveral ſlight ſkirmiſhes; but at *Platæa* and *Theſpiæ*, where *Phœbidas*, who had ſurprized the *Cadmea*, was ſlain; and at *Tanagra*, where *Pelopidas* ſlew with his own hand *Panthoïdes* their

their commander in chief. In particular the battle of *Tegyræ* raiſed *Pelopidas*'s reputation very high; for no other commander ſhared with him in the honour of the day.

Pelopidas keeping a ſtrict eye on the city of *Orchomenus*, which had received a *Spartan* garriſon, at length imagined that he had found an opportunity of retaking it. For receiving intelligence that the garriſon was marched out to make an incurſion into *Locris*, he haſted thither with the ſacred battalion and ſome horſe, hoping to find the place defenceleſs; but when he came near the city, hearing that a body of troops was marching from *Sparta* to reinforce the garriſon, he retreated with his little army by *Tegyræ* along the ſides of the mountains, the only way he was capable of paſſing; for all the flat country was overflowed by the river *Melas*, which when it riſes, ſpreads into marſhes and navigable pools, rendering all the lower roads impaſſable. As the *Spartans* were marching at the ſame time from *Locris*, they had no ſooner paſſed the ſtreights than they appeared in view: on which one running in haſte to *Pelopidas*, cried, *We are fallen into the enemy's hands*. To which he calmly anſwered, *And why not they into ours*. He then ordered the horſe, which were in the rear, to advance and begin the attack; and drew up his foot, who amounted to three hundred men, into a cloſe body, having no doubt of their forcing a paſſage through the enemy, though they were ſuperior in number. The *Spartans* had divided their infantry into two battalions, each conſiſting, ac-

cording to *Ephorus* of five hundred, *Calliſthenes* ſays ſeven hundred, but *Polybius* and others, nine hundred. *Theopompus* and *Gorgoleon* the *Spartan* generals led them to the charge with great bravery. The ſhock began where the commanders on both ſides fought in perſon, and was very violent: the *Lacedæmonian* generals, who preſſed hard on *Pelopidas*, fell firſt, and all who were near them were either killed or put to flight. The whole army were now ſo terrified, that they opened to let the *Thebans* paſs; but *Pelopidas* diſdaining to accept this opportunity of making his eſcape, turned on thoſe who ſtill kept their ground, and made ſuch a terrible ſlaughter, that they were ſoon routed and put to flight. The *Thebans* however did not purſue them very far; but were ſatisfied with the advantage they had already gained, and with making an honourable retreat, through the remains of a diſperſed and defeated army. Having therefore gathered the ſpoils of the ſlain, and erected a trophy, they returned home elated with their ſucceſs: for the *Spartans* in all their former wars were never before beaten by a ſmaller or even an equal number. Thus this battle firſt taught the *Greeks*, that neither the *Eurotas* *, nor the country ſituated between *Babyce* and *Cnacion* †, breeds martial ſpirits and brave warriors; but that wherever the youth are aſhamed of what is baſe, are reſo-

* A river of *Sparta*.

† Between thoſe towns was ſituated the territory of *Sparta*.

lutely

lutely virtuous, and fear diſhonour more than death, there will be found the men moſt terrible in arms.

Gorgidas, who firſt raiſed the ſacred band, in all engagements diſperſed the men of which it was compoſed, in the firſt ranks of his infantry, which rendered their courage leſs conſpicuous. But *Pelopidas* having thus experienced their aſtoniſhing bravery at the battle of *Tegyræ*, where they fought together, ever after kept them entire in one body, and conſtantly charged at their head in the moſt difficult attacks. Thus as horſes, when harneſſed together in a chariot *, proceed with greater ſpirit and alacrity, ſo *Pelopidas* thought, that men of bravery ſtriving to excel each other in the purſuit of glory, would fight with redoubled reſolution.

The *Lacedæmonians* having at length concluded a peace with all the other *Greeks*, *Cleombrotus* their king entered the country of the *Thebans* with an army of ten thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe; on which the *Thebans* found themſelves in danger not only of again loſing their liberty, but of being entirely extirpated. When *Pelopidas* was ſetting out to join the army, his wife followed him to the door, and earneſtly beſought him, with many tears, to take

* This doubtleſs alludes to the chariot races in the public games of *Greece*, in which the horſes were all harneſſed in a row, and placed a-breaſt; thus alſo in the *Roman* triumphs, the four horſes that drew the conqueror's chariot were all placed a-breaſt.

care of himſelf: but he replied, "Private "men are to be adviſed to take care of them- "ſelves, and the commanders to take care "of others." On his coming up with the army, he found the general officers divided in opinion, and was the firſt that joined with *Epaminondas*, who adviſed giving the enemy battle. He was then captain of the ſacred band, and the *Thebans* placed great confidence in him, on account of the ſignal proofs he had given of his zeal for the liberty of his country.

When the above reſolution was taken, both armies lay before *Leuctra* *, and at that time *Pelopidas* had a dream which gave him much uneaſineſs. Long before the daughters of a perſon named *Scedaſus* had been baſely raviſhed by ſome *Spartans* whom they had entertained, and being unable to ſurvive the diſgrace, had killed themſelves, and were interred in the plain of *Leuctra*, whence they were called *Leuctrides*.

Their father, juſtly enraged, went to *Sparta* to demand ſatisfaction, for ſo vile and deteſtable an action; but being unable to obtain it, he uttered the moſt dreadful imprecations againſt the *Spartans*, and then ſlew himſelf at his daughters tomb. *Pelopidas* being aſleep in his tent, fancied he ſaw thoſe women weeping at their tomb, and loading the *Spartans* with imprecations; while *Scedaſus*, their father, ordered him, if he deſired to gain the victory, to ſacrifice a young red-

* A ſmall town of *Bœotia* between *Platææ* and *Theſpiæ*.

haired

haired virgin to his daughters. *Pelopidas* conſidering this as a cruel and impious injunction, aroſe, and told it to the ſoothſayers and commanders of the army; ſome of whom thought that the order ſhould not be diſobeyed, and alledged many examples in ancient hiſtory of ſuch ſacrifices being juſtified by the event. Others, on the contrary, urged that ſo barbarous an oblation could not be acceptable to any ſuperior being: that the world was not governed by *Typhon* and the giants, but by the Father of gods and men: that it was the greateſt abſurdity to ſuppoſe that the deities delighted in human ſacrifices; and even if any of them did, they ought to be neglected as vicious and impotent beings; ſince ſuch corrupt deſires could only ſubſiſt in weak and depraved minds. But while the generals were thus differing in opinion, a wild ſhe-colt, that had broke out from the ſtud, ran through the camp, and ſtopped near the place where they were. While ſome were admiring the bright red of her mane, the fineneſs of her ſhape, and her ſpirit and vigour, *Theocritus* the diviner cried to *Pelopidas*, "Behold there the victim that "comes to offer herſelf, wait for no other "virgin, but ſacrifice that the gods have "ſent thee." Upon this they ſeized the colt, and ſacrificed her with the uſual ceremonies on the tomb of the *Leuctrides*; expreſſing their joy, and publiſhing throughout the army *Pelopidas*'s viſion, and the ſacrifice required.

Epaminondas formed his left wing into an oblique battalion, that by dividing the right wing of the *Spartans* from their allies, he might

might the more eaſily break them. But the enemy perceiving his deſign, changed the diſpoſition of their army, and began to extend their right wing, in order to encompaſs *Epaminondas:* but *Pelopidas* coming briſkly up at the head of the ſacred band before *Cleombrotus* could cloſe his diviſion, fell on the diſordered *Lacedæmonians*. The *Spartans* were indeed the moſt expert warriers of all the *Grecians*, and were particularly accuſtomed to preſerve their ranks, and unite their efforts in whatever part the danger was moſt preſſing. But now *Epaminondas* falling upon the right wing, while they were in confuſion, without offering to attack the other troops, and at the ſame time *Pelopidas* advancing with incredible ſpeed and bravery at the head of his three hundred men, baffled all their art, and made ſuch ſlaughter of the *Spartans*, as had never before been known. Thus *Pelopidas*, though he only commanded the ſacred band, obtained as much honour by the victory as *Epaminondas* himſelf, who was commander in chief*.

Pelopidas and *Epaminondas* being joint governors of *Bœotia*, ſoon after marched into *Peloponneſus*, where they recovered from the *Lacedæmonians Elis*, *Argos*, all *Arcadia*, and the greateſt part of *Laconia*. But it being now the depth of winter the time of their office was near expiring; and as thoſe who refuſed to deliver up their office were liable to be puniſhed with

* The victory of *Leuctra* was gained in the three hundred and ſeventieth year before the birth of Chriſt.

death,

death, the reſt of their colleagues, from fear of the law, and to avoid the inclemency of the ſeaſon, were for ſpeedily marching back to *Thebes*; but *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas* encouraging their fellow-citizens, marched againſt *Sparta*, and paſſing the *Eurotas*, took ſeveral towns, ravaging the whole country quite to the ſea coaſt, at the head of an army of about ſeventy-thouſand men, of whom the *Thebans* did not compoſe a twelfth part. But the diſtinguiſhed reputation of theſe two great commanders made all the allies follow and obey them, even without any decree or agreement. For the firſt and ſupreme law of nature ſeems to direct, that when men ſtand in need of protection, they ſhould chuſe ſuch chiefs as are beſt able to defend them. In their expedition they united all *Arcadia* into one body, and driving out the *Spartans* who inhabited *Meſſenia*, recalled its ancient inhabitants, and repeopled *Ithome*. Then returning home through *Cenchrea*, defeated the *Athenians*, who had attacked them in the narrow ways in order to prevent their paſſage.

But while all *Greece* applauded the valour, and admired the ſucceſs of theſe great commanders, the envy of their fellow-citizens prepared ſuch a reception for them at their return, as the ſignal ſervices they had performed for their country very ill deſerved; they both being capitally tried for not reſigning their command at the appointed time, and holding it four months longer, during which they performed thoſe great actions in *Laconia*, *Arcadia*,

Arcadia, and *Meſſenia*. *Epaminondas* bore this ill treatment with the greateſt patience, for he imagined, that a principal part of true fortitude and magnanimity conſiſted in his not reſenting the injuries done him by his fellow-citizens: but *Pelopidas*, being of a warmer temper, excited his friends to revenge the affront, which they at length did, by cauſing a heavy fine to be laid on *Meneclides* the principal accuſer of theſe brave commanders.

In the mean time *Alexander*, the tyrant of *Pheræ*, invaded *Theſſaly*, upon which the *Theſſalians* ſending ambaſſadors to *Thebes*, to deſire the aſſiſtance of ſome troops and a general, *Pelopidas* marched thither with an army, and ſoon reduced the city of *Lariſſa*. *Alexander* then coming to him in a ſubmiſſive manner, he endeavoured, by the force of perſuaſion, to render him more juſt and merciful; but finding him incorrigible, and receiving daily complaints of his inhumanity, lewdneſs and avarice, he began to treat him with ſome ſeverity, on which the tyrant privately eſcaped with his guards.

Pelopidas, after having thus ſuccoured the *Theſſalians*, marched for *Macedonia*, where *Ptolemy* was making war againſt *Alexander* * king of *Macedon*; he having been invited thither by thoſe two brothers, in order to decide their diſputes, and aſſiſt the prince who ſhould

* *Alexander* with *Perdiccas* and *Philip* were all the legitimate ſons of *Amyntas* II. and *Ptolemy* was his natural ſon.

appear

appear to be injured. *Pelopidas* immediately put an end to all their differences; recalled thoſe who had been baniſhed, and taking *Philip* *, *Alexander*'s brother, with thirty youths of the chief families in *Macedonia* for hoſtages, carried them to *Thebes*. Thus ſhewing the *Grecians* the authority the *Thebans* had gained by the reputation of their arms, and the high opinion conceived of their juſtice and integrity.

The next year the *Theſſalians* again complained of *Alexander* the *Pherean*, for diſturbing their peace, and forming deſigns againſt their cities; upon which *Pelopidas* and *Iſmenias* were ſent as ambaſſadors. At the ſame time freſh commotions happened in *Macedonia*; *Ptolemy* having murdered his brother *Alexander*, and ſeized his kingdom; the friends of the deceaſed king ſent for *Pelopidas*, who being willing to eſpouſe their intereſt, immediately raiſed a body of mercenaries, and marched with them againſt *Ptolemy*. On their advancing near each other *Ptolemy* found means to corrupt the mercenaries, and prevail on them to go over to him; but fearing *Pelopidas*, came ſubmiſſively to him; endeavoured to pacify him, and ſolemnly promiſed not only to keep the kingdom for the brothers of the deceaſed king, but to eſteem the friends and enemies of *Thebes* as his own; and then gave *Philoxenus*, his ſon, with fifty of his

* This *Philip* was the father of *Alexander* the Great.

companions

companions as hoſtages. Theſe *Pelopidas* ſent to *Thebes*; but, reſenting the treachery of the mercenaries, and hearing that they had left the beſt part of their effects, together with their wives and children at *Pharſalus*, he reſolved to revenge the injury he had received by ſeizing on them, and aſſembling ſome *Theſſalian* troops, marched thither. But, he had no ſooner reached that city, than *Alexander* the tyrant, appearing before it with a conſiderable army, *Pelopidas*, thinking he came thither to juſtify himſelf, by anſwering the complaints that had been made againſt him, went with *Iſmenias* to him, without taking any precautions for the ſecurity of their perſons; upon which the tyrant, ſeeing them alone and unarmed, took them priſoners, and made himſelf maſter of *Pharſalus*.

The *Thebans* were highly incenſed at hearing of this outrage, and immediately ſent an army into *Theſſaly*; and, *Epaminondas* happening to be under their diſpleaſure, they made choice of other generals.

Mean while the tyrant brought *Pelopidas* to *Pheræ*, and thinking that his diſaſter would humble his ſpirit, and abate his courage, permitted all that would to ſee him. But *Pelopidas* adviſing the complaining *Phereans* to be comforted, aſſured them, that the tyrant would ſoon meet with the reward of his crimes, and even ſent to let *Alexander* know, that he was guilty of an abſurdity, in daily tormenting and putting to death ſo many innocent and worthy citizens, and yet ſparing him,

him, who, he knew, if ever he eſcaped, would make him ſuffer the puniſhment he deſerved. Surprized at his boldneſs, the tyrant aſked, *Why is* Pelopidas *in ſuch haſte to die?* Which being repeated to *Pelopidas*, the illuſtrious priſoner replied, *It is becauſe thou may'ſt the ſooner periſh, by becoming ſtill more hateful to the gods.*

Though the tyrant forbad any one, from that time, to ſee or diſcourſe with him, *Thebe* his wife, being informed by his keepers of his great firmneſs and intrepidity, viſited him in his priſon, and gueſſing by the meanneſs of his dreſs and proviſions, that he was treated very unworthily, burſt into tears. As *Pelopidas* did not at firſt know who ſhe was, he ſtood amazed; but, on his being told her name, he addreſſed her by the name of *Jaſon* her father, who had been one of his intimate friends; and ſhe ſaying ſhe pitied his wife, he returned, *And I you, who being at liberty, can endure* Alexander. This touched *Thebe* to the quick; for, from the many outrages ſhe had received, ſhe was exaſperated againſt her inhuman huſband *.

The

* It is ſaid that the tyrant loved her tenderly; but, notwithſtanding that tenderneſs, treated her very cruelly, and was in ſuch perpetual diſtruſt, even of her, that he never went to her apartment without a ſlave carrying a naked ſword before him, and ſending a guard to ſearch every coffer for concealed poniards. Wretched

The *Theban* generals, who entered *Theſſaly*, were obliged, either through ill fortune, or bad conduct, to make a diſhonourable retreat; on which the *Thebans* fined each of them ten thouſand drachmas †, and diſpatched *Epaminondas* at the head of an army to repair the diſhonour. The fame and reputation of that wiſe commander, gave freſh life and courage to the *Theſſalians*, and the tyrant's ſubjects being ready to revolt, his affairs ſeemed in a very deſperate ſituation: but *Epaminondas*, preferring the ſafety of *Pelopidas* to his own reputation; and fearing, that if he at firſt puſhed matters to an extremity, the tyrant might grow deſperate, and turn all his fury againſt his priſoners, managed him in ſuch a manner, by hovering about with his army, as not to encreaſe his fierceneſs and cruelty. He knew the little regard he paid to reaſon and juſtice, and was not ignorant that he had cauſed ſome men to be buried alive, and others to be dreſſed in the ſkins of boars and bears, and then baited them with dogs, or ſhot at them for his diverſion. He had ſummoned the inhabitants of *Scotuſa* and *Melibœa*, two cities in friendſhip and alliance with him, to an aſſembly; and, having ſurrounded them with his guards, and them all, both young and old, to the

prince, cries *Cicero*, who could confide more in a ſlave and a Barbarian, than in his own wife! *Cic. de Offic.* l. 2.

† About 225 l. ſterling.

ſword.

ſword. He conſecrated the ſpear with which he ſlew his uncle *Polyphron*, and crowning it with garlands, offer'd ſacrifice to it as to a god. But this monſter of cruelty, being terrified at the very name and character of *Epaminondas*, haſtily diſpatched an embaſſy to offer ſatisfaction; but that great man refuſing to admit him as an ally of the *Thebans*, allowed him only a truce of thirty days; and having recovered *Pelopidas* and *Iſmenias*, returned with his army to *Thebes*.

The *Thebans* now diſcovering, that the *Spartans* and *Athenians* had ſent ambaſſadors to conclude a league with *Artaxerxes* king of *Perſia*, ſent *Pelopidas* on their part; who no ſooner entered the *Perſian* dominions, than he was univerſally honoured, the fame of his victories being every where ſpread abroad. On his arrival at the *Perſian* court, he became the object of the admiration of the nobles and great officers: "This is the man, "ſaid they, who deprived the *Lacedæmonians* "of their empire by ſea and land, and con- "fined within the bounds of the *Taygetus* and "*Eurotas*, that *Sparta*, which a little before, "under the conduct of *Ageſilaus*, made war "on our great monarch, and threatened the "kingdoms of *Suſa* and *Ecbatana*." Even *Artaxerxes*, being deſirous of ſhewing that perſons of the moſt illuſtrious characters made their court to him, ſtudied to heighten his reputation by doing him all imaginable honours. But, on his ſeeing him, and hearing his diſcourſe, which was ſtronger than that

of the *Athenians*, and plainer than that of the *Spartan* ambaſſadors, his eſteem for him encreated, and he made no ſecret of the great regard he had entertained for him: the cuſtomary preſents he ſent him were as rich and magnificent as poſſible, and he granted all his demands, which were, that the *Greeks* ſhould be free and independent, that *Meſſene* ſhould be repeopled, and the *Thebans* be always eſteemed the king's hereditary friends. On his having received ſo favourable an anſwer, he returned home, without accepting any other of the preſents, than ſuch as ſerved as a pledge of the king's favour.

The eſteem and affection of the *Thebans* for *Pelopidas* were greatly encreaſed by this embaſſy, in which he procured the re-eſtabliſhment of *Meſſene*, and the freedom of *Greece*. At this time *Alexander*, the *Pherean* tyrant, had deſtroyed ſeveral cities of *Theſſaly*, and put garriſons into thoſe of the *Pthiotæ*; the *Magneſians* and *Achæans*, who no ſooner heard that *Pelopidas* was returned, than they ſent deputies to *Thebes*, to deſire the aſſiſtance of ſome forces, and him for their general. Their requeſt was inſtantly granted: but, when *Pelopidas* was juſt ready to march, the ſun was ſuddenly eclipſed, and the city of *Thebes* was at noon covered with darkneſs. When ſeeing his fellow-citizens filled with great conſternation at this phænomenon, he was unwilling to hazard the lives of ſeven thouſand of his fellow-citizens, by compelling them to march, while their minds were filled with terror,

terror, but committing himſelf wholly to the *Theſſalians*, he took only three hundred horſe, compoſed of *Theban* and foreign voluntiers, and, contrary to the opinion of the ſoothſayers, and the reſt of the people, departed. For *Pelopidas* was reſolved to let all the *Grecians* ſee, that, while the *Spartans* endeavoured to ſupport *Dionyſius* the *Sicilian* tyrant, and the *Athenians* were kept in pay by *Alexander*, and had erected a brazen ſtatue to his honour, the *Thebans* alone waged war to ſuccour the diſtreſſed, and to exterminate out of *Greece* all arbitrary power.

Pelopidas having aſſembled his forces at *Pharſalus*, marched againſt the tyrant, who, finding that he had but few *Thebans*, and that his own infantry were above double the number of that of the *Theſſalians*, marched to meet him; when *Pelopidas* being told, that the tyrant was advancing with a prodigious army, "So much the better, ſaid he, we "ſhall beat the greater number." Near *Cynoſcephalæ* are two ſteep hills oppoſite to each other, in the middle of a plain. Both ſides ſtrove to get poſſeſſion of them with their foot; at the ſame time *Pelopidas* ordered his horſe, which were very numerous, to charge the enemy's cavalry, and ſoon routing them, they purſued them over the plain. *Alexander* had, however, gained the hills before the *Theſſalian* foot could reach them, and falling fiercely on thoſe *Theſſalians* who attempted to gain the aſcents, killed the foremoſt of them, and

wounded ſo many of thoſe that followed, that they were obliged to give way. *Pelopidas*, on ſeeing this, called back his horſe, and taking his ſhield, made all poſſible haſte to join thoſe that fought about the hills, and advancing to the front, his men ſeemed inſpired with freſh courage. The enemy ſtood two or three charges; but finding the *Theſſalian* foot ſtill preſs forward, and ſeeing the horſe returning from the purſuit, they began to give ground. *Pelopidas* then mounting an aſcent, where he had a view of the enemy's army, caſt his eyes around in ſearch of *Alexander*, when perceiving him in the right wing, rallying and encouraging his mercenaries, he became no longer maſter of himſelf; but, ſacrificing both his ſafety and his duty as a general, to his paſſion, advanced far before the ſoldiers, loudly challenging the tyrant, who, ſtruck with fear, retreated, and hid himſelf among his guards. The foremoſt of the mercenaries, that dared to oppoſe him, were cut down by *Pelopidas*; but others, who fought at a diſtance, pierced him with their javelins, and mortally wounded him. The *Theſſalians*, on ſeeing his danger, haſtened to his aſſiſtance; but, on their coming to the place where he was, found him lying dead on the ground. But, at the ſame time, both the horſe and foot preſſing hard on the enemy, intirely defeated them, and purſued them far over the plain. The *Thebans* in the army, now expreſſed the deepeſt concern at the death of *Pelopidas*, calling him their *father*, *their ſaviour*, *their inſtructor in*

every

every thing great and honourable. This indeed was no wonder; for the *Theſſalians* and their allies, by their grief, gave ſtill more evident proofs of their love to him; for the whole army, on hearing that he was dead, neither put off their armour, nor dreſſed their wounds; but, notwithſtanding the heat of the weather, and their fatigue, ran immediately to him, and heaped up the ſpoils of the enemy around his dead body; then cut off their own hair and their horſes manes; and many, on their retiring to their tents, neither kindled a fire, nor took any refreſhment. In ſhort, a ſilent conſternation reigned thro' the whole army, as if, inſtead of having obtained a great and glorious victory, they had been defeated and enſlaved.

At every city through which his body was carried, the magiſtrates, prieſts, young men, and children, came to meet it with crowns, trophies, and golden armour. The oldeſt men among the *Theſſalians* begged the *Thebans* to allow them to inter it; on which occaſion one of them made the following ſpeech: "Suffer us to aſk a favour, that will be a ſingular honour and conſolation to us in this "great misfortune. It is not *Pelopidas* alive "whom the *Theſſalians* deſire to attend. It "is not to *Pelopidas*, ſenſible of what is done "to him, that they would pay the honours "due to his merit. No, all we aſk is the "permiſſion to waſh, adorn, and inter his "dead body; which, if we obtain, we ſhall "then be perſuaded, that you do us the juſ-

"tice

" tice to believe, that our ſhare in this com-
" mon calamity is greater than yours. You,
" 'tis true, have loſt an excellent general;
" but we, with the loſs of a general, have
" loſt all hopes of liberty; for how ſhall we
" preſume to deſire another of you, when
" we cannot reſtore *Pelopidas?*" The *Thebans* granted their requeſt; and never was there ſeen a funeral that did ſuch honour to the deceaſed: for nothing could be more aſtoniſhing, than to ſee a man die in a ſtrange country, where, neither his wife, children, or kinſmen were preſent, and yet attended, crowned and interred by ſo many cities ſtriving to exceed each other in the demonſtrations of their eſteem. *Æſop*'s obſervation is certainly not true, that " death is moſt un-
" fortunate in the time of proſperity and ſuc-
" ceſs:" for it is then moſt happy, as it ſecures to good men the glory of their virtuous actions, and raiſes them above the power of fortune. Thus *Pelopidas*, after having ſpent the greateſt part of his life in performing the nobleſt exploits; and, after he had been thirteen times governor of *Bœotia*, died at laſt in a brave attempt to extirpate tyranny, and reſtore the liberties of *Theſſaly*.

Great as the grief was, which the death of *Pelopidas* occaſioned, yet ſtill greater was the advantage the allies received from it; for, it was no ſooner known to the *Thebans*, than prompted by a deſire of revenge, they ſent to their aſſiſtance an army of ſeven thouſand foot and ſeven hundred horſe, under the command

of

of *Malcitus*, and *Diogeton*, who, falling upon *Alexander*, who was already much weakened, compelled him to reſtore the cities he had again taken from the *Theſſalians*, to withdraw his garriſons from the *Phthiotæ*, the *Magneſians*, and the *Achæans*, and to take an oath, to afford the *Thebans* at all times whatever aſſiſtance they ſhould demand.

The tyrant was however ſoon puniſhed for his wickedneſs. *Thebe*, who had been taught by *Pelopidas*, to diſregard the exterior ſhew and pomp of tyranny, fearing the treachery, and hating the cruelty of her huſband, conſpired with her three brothers, *Tiſiphonus*, *Pytholaus*, and *Lycophron*, to murder him. At night the palace was full of guards, except the tyrant's bed-chamber, which was guarded by a dog chained at the door, that would fly at all but the tyrant and his wife, and one ſlave, who always fed him. The time appointed being come, *Thebe* concealed her brothers all day in an adjacent room; and at night, going alone, as uſual, into *Alexander*'s chamber, where ſhe found him aſleep, ſhe ſoon returned, and ordered the ſlave to lead away the dog, pretending the king had a mind to ſleep without being diſturbed; and that the ſtairs might make no noiſe when her brothers came up, ſhe covered them with wool. She then ſoftly conducted her brothers to the door, where leaving them with poinards in their hands, ſhe went again into the chamber, but ſoon returned with the tyrant's ſword that hung at his bed's head, and ſhewed

ed it them as a proof of his being faſt aſleep. The young men however, now appeared ſtruck with terror, and did not dare to proceed; at which *Thebe* was ſo enraged, that, reproaching them for their cowardice, ſhe ſwore ſhe would awake her huſband, and diſcover the whole plot. This making them reſume their former reſolution, ſhe conducted them into the chamber, and, with a light in her hand, led them to the bed; when one of them catching him by the hair of the head, another ſeized him by the feet, while the other ſtabbed him with the poinard. His death may perhaps be thought too quick and eaſy for ſo cruel a monſter; but, if it be conſidered, that his dead body was expoſed to all kinds of indignities, and ſpurned and trampled under foot by his own ſubjects, his puniſhment may appear to bear ſome proportion to his crimes.

THE

LIFE

OF

MARCELLUS.

MARCUS Claudius, the ſon of *Marcus*, was the firſt of his family who obtained the name of *Marcellus*. This great man was naturally hardy, active and intrepid; but his impetuoſity and fierceneſs only appeared in battle; for, on all other occaſions, he was remarkably modeſt, humane, and courteous. Fond of the *Grecian* learning and eloquence, he honoured all that excelled in them. He had an extraordinary ſkill in all kinds of fighting, eſpecially in ſingle combat,

bat, and never refuſed a challenge *, or failed of killing thoſe that challenged him. In *Sicily*, once ſeeing his brother *Otacilius* in danger, he defended him with his ſhield; ſlew thoſe by whom he was attacked, and ſaved his life. For that, and other atchievements, he, when very young, received from the generals crowns and other preſents, as the rewards of his valour; and, as his reputation daily encreaſed, the people choſe him Curule Ædile, and the prieſts created him Augur.

Not long after the firſt *Punic* war, which had laſted twenty-two years, *Rome* became involved in a war with the *Gauls*; in which the *Inſubrians*, who inhabited that part of *Italy* which borders on the *Alps*, applied to their neighbours for aſſiſtance, particularly to the *Geſatæ*, who uſed to hire themſelves out for pay. The *Romans* eſteemed themſelves happy, that they were not engaged in this *Gallic* war before that againſt the *Carthaginians* was concluded; but that all that time the *Gauls* continued quiet, as if they waited to take up the conqueror. The pro-

* Private challenges were unknown to the *Romans*; theſe were introduced long after in the barbarous ages, and ſprung from that groſs ſuperſtition, which ſuppoſed, that the innocent was always the conqueror. The challenges here mentioned, therefore relate to thoſe which frequently paſſed between the brave men on each ſide in armies at war, particularly in time of battle.

digious

digious preparations made by the *Romans* on this occaſion, as well as their extraordinary ſacrifices, evidently ſhewed the ſtrength of their apprehenſions; for, in obedience to ſome prophecies contained in the books of the *Sibyls*, they buried alive in the place called the Beaſt-market, two *Greeks*, a man and a woman, and alſo two *Gauls*, one of each ſex*; and theſe ſacrifices gave riſe to certain private myſterious ceremonies that ſtill continue to be annually obſerved in *November*.

Though the *Romans*, in the beginning of this war, ſometimes gained very ſignal victories, they were as often ſhamefully defeated; but neither their good nor ill ſucceſs put a final period to the war, till *C. Quintius Flaminius*, and *P. Furius Philo* being conſuls, marched with a powerful army againſt the *Inſubrians*. A report then prevailed, that the river, which runs through the country of *Picenum*, was turned into blood; and that, at the ſame time, three moons were ſeen at *Ariminum*: beſides, the augurs, at the time of chuſing the conſuls, declared, that the election of thoſe two were unduly and in-

* This cruel kind of ſuperſtition, practiſed by a nation eſteemed moſt polite, cannot fail of ſhocking every humane mind. But, when once men entertain the idea, that the Sovereign of the whole earth delights in the miſeries of his creatures, they ſtop at nothing, and even murder becomes ſanctified by the venerable name of religion.

auſpiciouſly made. Upon this the ſenate inſtantly diſpatched letters to forbid the conſuls to act, and to enjoin them to return ſpeedily to *Rome*, in order to reſign their office: but *Flaminius* deferred opening theſe letters, till he had not only fought and defeated the enemy, but ravaged their whole country; after which he returned to *Rome*. But, tho' he brought prodigious ſpoils, none of the people went out to meet him; nay, he had like to have been denied the honour of a triumph, for not inſtantly obeying the ſenate; and the triumph was no ſooner ended, than both he and his colleague were deprived of their office, and reduced to the condition of private citizens.

Flaminius and his colleague being thus depoſed from the conſulate, *Marcellus* was elected in their room, who no ſooner entered upon his office, than he choſe *Cneius Cornelius* for his colleague. Mean while the *Gauls* ſent ambaſſadors with propoſals of peace, which was at laſt concluded, though the people, at the inſtigation of *Marcellus*, were deſirous of war. However, thirty thouſand of the *Geſſetæ* ſoon after paſſing the *Alps*, joined the *Inſubrians*, who were ſtill more numerous, and relying on their numbers, boldly marched as far as *Acerræ*, a city ſituated between the *Alps* and the *Po*. From thence king *Viridomarus*, at the head of ten thouſand of the *Geſatæ*, ravaged the country near that river.

Marcellus receiving an account of their march, left his colleague before *Acerræ*, with a third

third part of the horſe, and all the heavy-arm'd infantry, and taking with him 600 of the light infantry, with the reſt of the horſe, purſued the 10,000 *Geſatæ* without intermiſſion, night and day, till he came up with them near *Claſtidium*, a ſmall town in *Gaul*, that had lately been brought under ſubjection to the *Romans*. He had not time either to refreſh his troops, or give them reſt; for the Barbarians being ſoon informed of his arrival, and ſeeing the ſmall number of his foot, marched directly againſt him, with *Viridomarus* at their head, uttering dreadful menaces. As *Marcellus* had but few troops, he endeavoured to prevent their being encompaſſed by the enemy, by extending the cavalry on the wings, till his front was nearly equal to that of the enemy. But, as he was advancing to the charge, his horſe, frighted at the ſhouts of the *Gauls*, ſuddenly turned ſhort, and, in ſpite of all his endeavours, carried him back. *Marcellus*, fearing that this might be taken for an ill omen, took his horſe by the bridle, and turned him quite round, then returning to his former ſtation, adored the ſun; to make them imagine, that his wheeling about was an act of devotion, it being cuſtomary with the *Romans* to turn round when they worſhipped the gods. He then made a vow to conſecrate to *Jupiter Feretrius* the beſt of the arms that ſhould be taken from the enemy. At that inſtant the king of the *Gauls* ſeeing him, and gueſſing from the enſigns of authority, that he was the *Roman* general, advanced, bran-

diſhing his ſpear, and loudly challenging him to the combat. He was of a ſuperior ſtature to the reſt of the *Gauls*, and wore a ſuit of armour adorned with gold and ſilver, and variegated with the moſt lively colours. *Marcellus* immediately caſting his eyes on this ſplendid armour, concluded it was that he had vowed to *Jupiter*, and riding with all his force againſt *Viridomarus*, pierced his breaſt-plate with his ſpear, and threw him to the ground, when repeating his blows, he killed him: then leaping from his horſe, he ſtripped him, and lifting the ſplendid armour towards heaven, cried, "O *Jupiter Feretrius!* who "from on high, beholdeſt on the day of "battle, the brave exploits of captains and "commanders, I call thee to witneſs that I "am the third *Roman* general that has ſlain "a general and a king. To thee I conſe-"crate theſe firſt and moſt excellent of the "ſpoils: be thou propitious, and in the "proſecution of this war, crown our actions "with the like ſucceſs."

Having finiſhed his prayer, the *Roman* horſe began the charge, by attacking both the enemy's horſe and foot at the ſame time, and obtained a compleat victory. Never before or ſince did ſuch a ſmall body of horſe give ſuch an entire defeat to ſuch a ſuperior force both of horſe and foot, as were then drawn up againſt them. *Marcellus* having ſlain the greateſt part of the enemy, and taken all their arms and baggage, marched back to join his colleague, who had not ſuch ſucceſs in his

BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE VITTORIO EMANUELE III NAPOLI

MARCELLUS having kill'd the King of the Gauls, consecrates his spoils to Jupiter Feretrius.

his inveſting *Milan* *, a very large city, well inhabited, and the capital of all that country: for the *Gauls* defended it with the utmoſt reſolution; but when *Marcellus* returned, the *Geſatæ* finding that their king was ſlain, and his army defeated, they haſtily withdrew. Thus *Milan* was taken, and the *Gauls* delivered up their other cities to the *Romans*, who conſented to a peace on reaſonable conditions.

It was decreed by the ſenate, that *Marcellus* ſhould alone have the honour of a triumph; which, from the richneſs and quantity of the ſpoils, the great ſtature of the captives, and its pomp and magnificence, was one of the moſt ſplendid that had ever been ſeen. But the moſt ſingular and agreeable ſight was *Marcellus* himſelf; who had cauſed a branch of a large oak to be cut, on which was faſtened the armour of the vanquiſhed Barbarian, diſpoſed in the natural order.

* *Acerræ* being taken by *Scipio*, the *Gauls* retired to *Milan*, and were followed by *Scipio*; but, in his return back, the *Gauls* fell on his rear, which they cut to pieces, and routed part of his army; but *Scipio*, having ſtopped the fugitives, wreſted the victory out of the hands of the *Gauls*, and marched back to *Milan*. This is ſtill a very conſiderable city; of which the reader may ſee an entertaining deſcription in the ingenious Mr. *Addiſon*'s *Travels* inſerted in *The World Diſplay'd*, vol. xix. pag. 53—60.

When the proceſſion began to move, he aſcended his triumphal chariot, and paſſed through the city, bearing this trophy on his ſhoulders. The army cloſed the proceſſion in bright armour, ſinging ſongs of triumph, and in praiſe of *Jupiter* and *Marcellus*, who, on his arriving at the temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, there fixed and dedicated his trophy.

This victory, and the concluſion of the war, gave ſuch joy to the *Roman* people, that, as a teſtimony of their gratitude, they cauſed a golden cup to be made and preſented to *Apollo* at *Delphi*; they likewiſe divided a great part of the ſpoils among the confederate cities that had ſided with them, and alſo ſent conſiderable preſents to their friend and ally *Hiero* king of *Syracuſe*.

Afterwards *Hannibal* making an irruption into *Italy*, *Marcellus* was ſent with a fleet to *Sicily*. Two years after happened the defeat at *Cannæ*, in which fell many thouſands of the *Romans*; and the few who eſcaped retired to *Canuſium*. It was then apprehended, that *Hannibal* would have marched with his victorious army to *Rome*; upon which *Marcellus* ſent fifteen hundred of his men by ſea to guard the city; and having, by order of the ſenate, repaired to *Canuſium*, he put himſelf at the head of the troops that had retired to that city after the battle.

By this time war had carried off the chief of the *Roman* nobility, and moſt of their commanders. Indeed there was ſtill left *Fabius Maxi-*

Maximus *, who was diſtinguiſhed by his great capacity: but his extraordinary precaution made the *Romans* conſider him as a perſon proper to provide for their defence, but by no means fit to attack an enemy; and therefore applied themſelves to *Marcellus*, and that his daring courage might be tempered with the caution of *Fabius*, they often choſe them conſuls together, and ſometimes ſent them againſt the enemy, one as conſul, and the other as proconſul. Hence, according to *Poſidonius*, *Fabius* was called the *Buckler*, and *Marcellus* the *Sword* of the *Roman* ſtate.

As after the victory, *Hannibal*'s ſoldiers grew careleſs, and often ſtraggled about in parties in ſearch of plunder, *Marcellus* frequently fell upon them, and thus by little and little diminiſhed the forces of the enemy. He afterwards marched to the relief of *Naples*, and having confirmed the *Neapolitans* in the favourable opinion they had entertained of the *Romans*, entered *Nola*, where the ſenate were unable to reſtrain the people, who had embraced the intereſt of *Hannibal*. In the city was a perſon named *Bandius*, famed for his perſonal valour and noble birth, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the battle of *Cannæ*, where, after having ſlain a great number of *Carthaginians*, he was at laſt found lying covered with wounds on a heap of dead bodies. When *Hannibal* admiring his cou-

* See the life of *Fabius Maximus*, where many of theſe events are related more at large.

rage,

rage, conceived a friendſhip for him, and not only diſmiſſed him without any ranſom, but loaded him with preſents. Hence *Bandius*, influenced by gratitude, zealouſly eſpouſed *Hannibal*'s intereſt, and endeavoured to bring over the people to join the *Carthaginians*. *Marcellus* thought it would be cruel and diſhonourable to put to death a man who had ſo often expoſed his life in fighting for the *Romans*; and who had ſuch humanity and ſweetneſs of temper, that he could hardly fail of gaining the affections of every great and generous mind. One day *Bandius* coming to ſee him, he pretended as if he did not know him, and aſked him who he was. *Bandius* told him his name; when *Marcellus* appearing ſurpriſed, and highly pleaſed, cried, "How! art thou the *Bandius* ſo much talked "of at *Rome* for his bravery at the battle of "*Cannæ*, who was ſo far from deſerting "*Paulus Æmilius* the conſul, that he receiv-"ed into his body ſeveral arrows aimed at "that general?" *Bandius* owning himſelf to be the very perſon, ſhewed his ſcars. "Why "then, returned *Marcellus*, ſince thou haſt "given us ſo many proofs of thy friendſhip, "didſt thou not come to me at my firſt arri-"val? Doeſt thou think I can be ungrate-"ful to a friend who is honoured even by "his enemies?" He then embraced him, and gave him a fine horſe, and five hundred drachmas in ſilver. Thus he bound *Bandius* to him; who, from thence forward, appeared zealous

zealous in discovering the designs of the party he had before espoused. That party was indeed very numerous, and had laid the design of plundering the baggage and waggons of the *Romans*, as soon as they left the city to engage *Hannibal*. *Marcellus* being informed of this conspiracy, drew up his army in order of battle within the city, and placing his baggage near the gates, forbad the inhabitants appearing on the walls. *Hannibal* now seeing the walls abandoned, imagined there was a great sedition in the city, and from this opinion marched up to it with the less order and precaution. At that instant, *Marcellus* commanding the gate opposite to him to be opened, issued out with the best of the horse, and charged the enemy in front. A second gate was soon after opened, through which the infantry poured with loud shouts. When *Hannibal* attempting to divide his troops, in order to make head against these last, a third gate was opened, out of which issued all the rest of the *Roman* forces. *Hannibal* surprized and disconcerted at this unexpected sally, suffered his troops to be thrown into confusion, and this was the first time in which his forces fled before the *Roman* legions; for they were driven back to their camp in great consternation, and with prodigious slaughter, *Hannibal* losing above five thousand men, and the *Romans* not more than five hundred.

On

On the death of one of the consuls *, the people recalled *Marcellus*, and, in spite of the magistrates, caused the election to be deferred till his return. On his arrival, he was immediately chosen consul; but it happening at that time to thunder, the augurs, though they perceived that this invalidated the election, did not dare to oppose it for fear of the people: *Marcellus*, however, voluntarily laid down his office; on which, being immediately elected proconsul, he returned with the army to *Nola*, where he chastised all who, during his absence, had declared for the *Car-*

* *Lucius Posthumius Albinus*, the consul here mentioned, was slain, with his whole army, by the *Gauls*, after a very extraordinary manner. *Livy* says, that he being obliged to pass through the *Litanean* forest, the *Gauls* had cut all the trees near the road in such a manner that they still continued standing, though they might be thrown down with the least motion. *Albinus* being arrived in the forest with his army, consisting of twenty-five thousand men, the *Gauls*, who lay concealed, set the trees near them in motion, which falling on those next them, and they on the next, and so on, they all fell almost at the same time, overwhelming and killing both men and horses. Those who escaped this snare, were killed by the *Gauls*, among whom was the consul himself, whose head they cut off, and emptying his skull, set it in gold, to be used for libations at their feasts.

thaginians

thaginians; on which *Hannibal* haſted to their aſſiſtance, and offered him battle, which he refuſed. But, a few days after, *Hannibal* having ſent the greateſt part of his army to forage, he attacked him with great vigour, having firſt furniſhed his foot with long ſpears like thoſe uſed on ſhip-board, and taught them to wound the enemy with them at a diſtance; while the *Carthaginians* fought only with ſhort ſwords, or with darts, which they were unſkilled in throwing. Hence, all who attempted to make head againſt them, fled in confuſion, leaving five thouſand ſlain in the field of battle; four elephants were alſo killed, and two taken alive. Beſides, what appeared ſtill of greater conſequence, the third day after the battle, above three hundred of the *Spaniſh* and *Numidian* cavalry deſerted to *Marcellus*; a misfortune which *Hannibal* had never before ſuffered; for, notwithſtanding his army was compoſed of many barbarous nations, as different in their manners as in their languages, he had hitherto preſerved among them a good underſtanding and ſtrict concord. Theſe deſerterts always continued faithful to the *Romans*.

At length, *Marcellus* being a third time created conſul, paſſed into *Sicily* *: for the *Carthaginians* had entertained thoughts of reconquering that iſland. The city of *Syracuſe* had been thrown into confuſion by the

* In the 212th year before the Chriſtian æra.

death

death of the tyrant *Hieronymus*, and an army had been already ſent thither by the *Romans*, under the command of *Appius Claudius*.

Of the *Romans* who had fought at the battle of *Cannæ*, ſome had fled, and others were taken priſoners; but, though the latter were very numerous, yet, when *Hannibal* offered to releaſe them, for an inconſiderable ranſom, their countrymen not only refuſed it; but giving themſelves no farther trouble about them, left them to be killed by the enemy, or ſold out of *Italy*; while they tranſported into *Sicily* thoſe who had eſcaped by flight, and prohibited their return home till the war with *Hannibal* was ended. *Marcellus*, had no ſooner arrived in *Sicily*, and taken upon him the command of the army, than great numbers of theſe unfortunate men came to him, and falling on their knees, beſought him with the deepeſt lamentations and floods of tears, to admit them among his troops, promiſing to ſhew by their future behaviour, that their defeat had been owing to ſome misfortune, and not to cowardice. *Marcellus* being filled with compaſſion for theſe exiles, wrote to the ſenate, to deſire leave to recruit his troops out of theſe men, as he ſhould have occaſion; but, after long deliberations, they returned for anſwer, "That the *Romans* did not ſtand in need of "the aſſiſtance of cowards; however, if "*Marcellus* pleaſed, he might make uſe of "them, provided he did not beſtow on them "crowns,

"crowns, any of the cuſtomary rewards of "valour." This decree gave *Marcellus* great concern, and at his return to *Rome*, at the concluſion of the war, he complained, that after all his ſervices, they had refuſed him the pleaſure of retrieving the honour, and alleviating the misfortunes of his fellow-citizens.

Marcellus, after his landing in *Sicily*, firſt endeavoured to be revenged on *Hippocrates*, the *Syracuſan* general; who, to ſhew his regard to the *Carthaginians*, and by their means to render himſelf tyrant of *Sicily*, attacked the *Romans*, and ſlew great numbers of them near *Leontium*. *Marcellus* therefore marching to that city with his whole army, took it by ſtorm; but offered no injury to the inhabitants; however, he cauſed the deſerters he found there to be ſcourged with rods, and then put to death. Upon which *Hippocrates* ſent to inform the *Syracuſans*, that *Marcellus* had put to the ſword all capable of bearing arms, and while the inhabitants of *Syracuſe* were in the utmoſt conſternation at this news, he came and ſurprized the city.

The *Roman* general now marching with his whole army, encamped near *Syracuſe*, and immediately ſent ambaſſadors thither, to let the inhabitants know the whole truth of what had happened at *Leontium*; but finding that the *Syracuſans*, being awed by the power of *Hippocrates*, refuſed to liſten to him, he made preparations for attacking the city both by ſea and land. The land forces were com-

manded by *Appius Claudius*, while *Marcellus* with ſixty gallies, each of which had five rows of oars, attacked it by ſea; he had likewiſe a terrible machine carried on eight gallies faſtened together, and was inſpired with great hopes by the number of his batteries, the greatneſs of his preparations, and his own reputation. But *Archimedes* deſpiſed all his machines and preparations, which were nothing when compared with the engines he daily invented.

This *Archimedes* had long before been ſollicited by king *Hiero*, his friend and kinſman, to reduce his geometrical ſpeculations into practice. One day diſcourſing on the laws of mechanics, *Archimedes* made uſe of this propoſition, that with any given force the greateſt weight might be moved; and added, that if there were another earth beſides this we inhabit, by going upon that he could move this. The king ſurprized at this diſcourſe deſired him to prove the truth of his propoſition, by moving ſome great weight with a ſmall force. On which *Archimedes* cauſed one of the king's gallies to be drawn on ſhore by the aſſiſtance of a great number of men, and then to be filled with its uſual burthen and a number of people. This being done, he made uſe of a machine he had before prepared, conſiſting of a variety of ropes and pullies, and by only moving the end of this machine, drew the veſſel to him as ſmoothly as if it had floated in the water. At which the king being aſtoniſhed, and fully convinced of the amazing

amazing power of his art, entreated him to form ſeveral kinds of military engines both offenſive and defenſive. This taſk he performed; but the greateſt part of that prince's reign being free from war, they had never been uſed; but were all ready on this occaſion, and the great artiſt himſelf was at hand to direct them.

However, the *Romans* now preparing to ſtorm the walls of *Syracuſe* in two places at once, ſilence and conſternation reigned throughout the city, the frighted inhabitants thinking it impoſſible to reſiſt ſuch numerous forces, and ſo furious an aſſault. But *Archimedes* no ſooner began to play his engines, than they darted forth againſt the land forces ſuch a ſhower of miſſive weapons, and ſtones of a prodigious weight, with an amazing noiſe, and irreſiſtible force and rapidity, that nothing was able to ſtand before them: they overthrew and deſtroyed whatever came in their way, and cauſed a terrible diſorder in the ranks of the *Romans*. On the ſide next the ſea were vaſt machines, which ſuddenly projected huge beams over the walls, and beating with prodigious force on the *Roman* ſhips ſunk them to the bottom. Others being hoiſted up by the prows with iron hooks or claws, were ſet an end on the ſtern, and then alſo plunged to the bottom of the ſea. Others again were drawn towards the ſhore with hooks and cords, and after being whirled about, were daſhed to pieces againſt the rocks that projected out below the walls; and often

might be ſeen ſhips raiſed a great height above the water, and ſwinging in the air; thus the men were ſhaken out, and the veſſels either ſhattered to pieces againſt the walls, or ſuddenly let fall, and plunged under water. As to the vaſt machine brought by *Marcellus* upon eight gallies, *Archimedes* diſcharged at it, before it came near the walls, a vaſt piece of a rock, and afterwards a ſecond and a third, by which repeated blows it was ſhattered and disjointed.

Upon this ill ſucceſs *Marcellus* retired with his gallies as faſt as poſſible, and at the ſame time ſent orders to the forces on land to retreat. Then calling a council of war, it was reſolved to come the next morning before it was light, if poſſible, cloſe under the walls; for they imagined that *Archimedes*'s engines, being deſigned to act at a conſiderable diſtance, would throw all the ſtones and weapons over their heads, and thus by their being ſo near, would have no effect.

But when the *Romans* were cloſe to the walls, and imagined they were by that means ſkreened from the enemy, they found themſelves ſuddenly attacked on all ſides with a ſhower of darts, and all kinds of miſſile weapons, and with a multitude of great ſtones falling perpendicular on their heads. Thus they were ſoon obliged to retire; and they were no ſooner got at a little diſtance, than they were overtaken by a freſh ſhower of all ſorts of weapons, ſo that a very great ſlaughter was made, and many of their gallies

gallies bruiſed, and daſhed in pieces, while the *Romans* were unable to do the leaſt damage, or to make the ſmalleſt impreſſion on the works of the enemy: For as moſt of *Archimedes*'s machines were concealed by the walls, the *Romans* ſuſtaining ſuch infinite miſchief, without being able to ſee from whence it came, ſeemed to fight againſt the gods. *Marcellus* himſelf however eſcaped, and, laughing at his own engineers, aſked, "Shall "we continue to fight againſt this mechani- "cal *Briarius*, who, as if in ſport, toſſes "our ſhips out of the ſea, and again plunges "them into it; and who, for the number "of the weapons he diſcharges againſt us, "even ſurpaſſes what is ſaid in fabulous ſtory "of the giants with an hundred hands?" Indeed the *Syracuſans* were only as the body of theſe machines, while *Archimedes* was the ſoul that put them in motion; for all other weapons lay unemployed; and his were the only offenſive and defenſive arms of the city. In ſhort, the *Romans* were ſeized with ſuch terror, that if they only ſaw a ſmall cord, or piece of wood about the walls, they inſtantly fled, crying, "*Archimedes* is going to "employ ſome terrible engine againſt us."

Marcellus obſerving this, gave up all thoughts of taking the city by ſtorm, and therefore leaving *Appius* with two thirds of the army before *Syracuſe*, marched with the reſt to beſiege *Megara*. Soon after he had taken it, he forced the camp of *Hippocrates*, at *Acrillæ*, and ſlew 8000 of his men. He

then over-ran a great Part of *Sicily*, retook many places that had ſubmitted to the *Carthaginians*, and fought ſeveral battles, in all which he was conſtantly victorious.

Afterwards, on his return to the ſiege of *Syracuſe*, he took *Damippus*, a *Spartan*, as he was going from thence by ſea; when the *Syracuſans* being very deſirous of ranſoming him, *Marcellus* had ſeveral conferences with them on that ſubject; during which he had an opportunity of obſerving a tower, which his troops might privately enter, it being careleſsly guarded, aud the wall that led to it eaſy to be ſcaled. Having therefore prepared his ſcaling-ladders, he executed his deſign at a time when the *Syracuſans* were, with much mirth and jollity, celebrating a feaſt to *Diana*; ſo that before it was light, he, without being perceived by the citizens, not only took poſſeſſion of the tower, but filled the adjoining walls with ſoldiers, and by force entered the *Hexapylum*. This was no ſooner perceived by the *Syracuſans*, than they were ſeen moving about in great confuſion: but ſoon all the trumpets of the *Romans* ſounding at once, they were filled with conſternation, and fled, imagining that the enemy were in poſſeſſion of the whole city. But the beſt and ſtrongeſt part of it, called the *Achradina* was not yet taken, it being divided by walls from the reſt of the city.

This enterpriſe being executed with ſuch ſucceſs, *Marcellus* at length entered from the *Hexapylum* into the city, where all his officers ſur-

ſurrounded him, to congratulate him on his ſucceſs; but viewing from the riſing ground, on which he ſtood, this great and magnificent place, it is ſaid that he wept, from his commiſerating the calamity that hung over it; his imagination repreſenting the ſad and diſmal ſcene that was approaching, when it ſhould be ſacked by his ſoldiers, who peremptorily demanded leave to plunder it, which none of the officers dared to deny them. Nay, many inſiſted that the city ought to be burnt, and laid level with the ground; but to this *Marcellus* would not conſent; it was with great reluctance that he permitted the riches of the city, and the ſlaves to become the prey of the ſoldiers; and he gave ſtrict orders, that no violence ſhould be offered to the perſon of any freeman, or any citizen reduced to ſlavery. But notwithſtanding his expreſs commands, the city was ſo ſeverely treated, that he could not help expreſſing his concern at ſeeing all its grandeur and felicity vaniſh in a moment: for the plunder and ſpoils were ſaid to be as valuable as thoſe that were ſoon after taken at *Carthage:* for it was not long before all the other parts of the city were taken by treachery, and plundered; the royal treaſure was alone preſerved, in order to be depoſited in the public treaſury at *Rome.*

But nothing, on this occaſion, gave *Marcellus* ſuch concern as the unhappy fate of the great *Archimedes*, who happened at that time to be ſo deeply engaged in ſtudy, and to have his

his mind, as well as his eyes, ſo intent on ſome geometrical figures, that, not attending to the noiſe and hurry occaſioned by the *Romans*, he did not even know that the city was taken: but while he was thus employed, a ſoldier ſuddenly entered his room, and ordered him to follow him to *Marcellus*; which he refuſing to do, till he had demonſtrated his problem, the fellow was ſo exaſperated, that he drew his ſword, and killed him. Others ſay, that *Archimedes* ſeeing a ſoldier coming with a drawn ſword to murder him, intreated him to ſtay a moment, that he might not leave his problem unfiniſhed, and his demonſtration imperfect; but that the ſoldier ſlew him immediately, without paying the leaſt regard to his requeſt. Others again aſſert, that as *Archimedes* was carrying ſome mathematical inſtruments in a box to *Marcellus*, he was met by ſome ſoldiers, who, believing there was gold in it, killed him. All hiſtorians however agree, that *Marcellus* was greatly concerned at his death; that he would not even look upon the murderer, whom he deteſted as an execrable villain; and that, after a diligent enquiry, having found his relations, he loaded them with many ſignal favours.

Though the *Romans* had hitherto given other nations evident proofs of their courage and military conduct, they had yet ſhewn them no remarkable examples of humanity and clemency: but *Marcellus* on this occaſion ſhewed the *Greeks*, that the *Romans* ſur-

ſurpaſſed them in juſtice, as much as in valour and conduct: for ſuch was his candour and condeſcenſion, that if any thing ſevere or cruel was committed in the cities he conquered in *Sicily*, the blame might be more juſtly charged on the ſufferers themſelves, than on him. I ſhall only give one inſtance, out of many, that might be mentioned.

In *Sicily* is a city called *Enguium*, which, though not large, is very ancient, and particularly celebrated for the appearance of the goddeſſes termed the *Mothers*. As this city favoured the intereſt of the *Carthaginians*, *Nicias*, the moſt eminent of the citizens, uſed his utmoſt endeavours, by his ſpeeches in all the public aſſemblies, to make them declare for the *Romans*, on which ſome of the inhabitants, fearing his great power and reputation, reſolved to ſeize him, and deliver him up to the *Carthaginians*. But *Nicias* diſcovering their deſign, thus prevented their putting it in execution. He uttered ſeveral diſreſpectful things of the goddeſſes, and even repreſented their appearance in that city as a fable. His enemies now rejoiced at finding, that he himſelf had furniſhed them with reaſons ſufficient to juſtify whatever treatment they ſhould give him. The day being come on which they had agreed to ſeize him, there happened to be an aſſembly of the people, in which *Nicias* made a ſpeech on ſome affair then under deliberation: but ſuddenly, in the midſt of his diſcourſe, he fell down, and having lain for ſome time, as if in a trance,

lifted

lifted up his head, and began to ſpeak in a feeble, trembling voice, which he raiſed by degrees; when, perceiving that the whole aſſembly, ſtruck with horror, remained in ſilent conſternation, he aroſe, threw off his mantle, and, tearing his coat in pieces, ran half naked, crying, that he was purſued by the avenging furies; and a kind of religious fear preventing any one's ſtopping him, he reached one of the city gates without oppoſition. Mean while his wife, who was in the ſecret, taking her children in her arms, ran and proſtrated herſelf before the altar of the goddeſſes; then, pretending to go in ſearch of her huſband, who was wandering about the fields, got ſafely out of the city; and thus both eſcaped to *Marcellus* at *Syracuſe*. Some days after that general entering *Enguium*, loaded the inhabitants with irons, in order to puniſh them for their inſolence and treachery. But *Nicias* falling on his knees before him, with tears in his eyes, aſked pardon for all the citizens, and, in the firſt place, for his enemies. Upon which *Marcellus* relenting, ordered them all to be ſet at liberty, and forbid the ſoldiers committing any diſorders in the city: he then beſtowed on *Nicias* a large tract of land, and many rich preſents.

Marcellus being at length recalled by the *Romans*, to conduct a war nearer home, took with him the fineſt ſtatues, paintings, and furniture in *Syracuſe*, in order to adorn his triumph, and to be preſerved as laſting ornaments

ments of the city, for *Rome* was yet entirely unacquainted with the elegant works of art: inſtead of which, were to be ſeen arms taken from the Barbarians, ſpoils ſtained with blood, and triumphal ornaments and trophies that had an unpleaſing, and even dreadful appearance. Thus *Marcellus* became the favourite of the people, on account of his embelliſhing the city, and expoſing to their view all the various elegant performances of the *Grecian* artiſts. The graver citizens, however, preferred *Fabius Maximus*, who, on his taking *Tarentum*, left the pictures and ſtatues of the gods, and took nothing from thence but gold, ſilver, and other uſeful riches. Theſe charged *Marcellus* with rendering *Rome* odious, by his leading not only men, but even the gods in triumph; and with ſpoiling a people inured to huſbandry and war, and entirely unacquainted with luxury and ſloth, by furniſhing them with a pretence for idleneſs and vain diſcourſe: but notwithſtanding theſe cenſures, *Marcellus* gloried in being the firſt who taught the *Romans* to admire, and ſet a value on the arts of *Greece*.

As *Marcellus* now found that his enemies oppoſed his being allowed the honour of a triumph, he was contented with celebrating it on the *Alban* mount, and entering the city in that ſort of triumph, which the *Romans* term an Ovation. Thoſe to whom this was allowed, did not ride in a triumphal chariot drawn by four horſes a-breaſt, neither were they

they crowned with laurel, nor were preceded by trumpets ſounding before them, but went on foot, in ſlippers, with flutes playing before the conqueror, whoſe head was crowned with myrtle; which was a ſight that carried no appearance of war, and was rather delightful than terrible.

Marcellus being now choſen conſul a fourth time, ſome *Syracuſans*, by the perſuaſion of his enemies came to *Rome* to accuſe him before the ſenate of ſeveral unjuſt and cruel actions, contrary to the league that ſubſiſted between them and the *Romans*. On the day of the arrival of the *Syracuſan* deputies, *Marcellus* happened to be offering ſacrifice in the capitol: but going directly to the ſenate, who were then ſitting, they fell on their knees, beſeeching them to hear their complaints, and to do them juſtice: on which the other conſul, who was preſent, reproved them for preferring their petition during the abſence of his colleague. *Marcellus*, on hearing what was in agitation, haſted to the ſenate, where, taking his place, he diſpatched the ordinary affairs of his office, and then, riſing from his ſeat, went, as a private man, to the place appointed for the accuſed to make their defence, giving the *Syracuſans* full liberty to make good this charge. They were at firſt ſtruck, and confounded at his unconcern, and the dignity of his appearance; but being animated and encouraged by his enemies, they made their accuſation in a ſpeech filled with lamentations and complaints,

plaints, the ſubſtance of which was, *That though they were the friends and allies of the* Romans, Marcellus *had made them ſuffer what other generals ſeldom inflict on a conquered enemy.* To which *Marcellus* anſwered, *That notwithſtanding all the injury they had done the* Romans, *they had ſuffered no more than what is impoſſible to prevent, when a city is taken by ſtorm. That their being ſo taken, was their own fault, as they had rejected the reaſonable propoſals which had been offered them; and that they could not pretend that they had been forced by the tyrants to take arms, as they had voluntarily ſubmitted to thoſe tyrants, in order to make war.* The reaſons being at length heard on both ſides, the deputies were, as uſual, ordered to withdraw; as did alſo *Marcellus*, who left his colleague to take the votes of the ſenators, while he himſelf patiently waited at the door till the cauſe was decided, without ſhewing the leaſt ſign either of concern for the event, or of reſentment againſt the *Syracuſans*. At length judgment being pronounced in favour of *Marcellus*, the *Syracuſans*, ſtruck with fear, proſtrated themſelves at his feet, beſeeching him to lay aſide all reſentment, and to pardon not only them, but their fellow-citizens, who would for ever retain a grateful remembrance of that favour. On which *Marcellus*, being moved by their intreaties, had the generoſity to forgive them, and from that time did the *Syracuſans* all the good offices in his power. In return, the *Syracuſans* decreed *Marcellus* all

imaginable honours, and even made a law, that whenever he, or any of his family, came to *Sicily*, the *Syracuſans* ſhould offer ſacrifice to the gods, with chaplets on their heads.

Since the battle of *Cannæ*, the other conſuls and generals had taken all poſſible meaſures to avoid coming to a battle with the *Carthaginians*. But *Marcellus* being now ſent againſt *Hannibal*, took a quite contrary courſe, from the perſuaſion that delay, which was thought the beſt method of ruining *Hannibal*, would alſo deſtroy *Italy*: for he thought *Fabius** was like an unſkilful phyſician, who, from fear, defers giving his patient ſtrong, but efficacious medicines, till his ſpirits become exhauſted, and nature ſinks beyond the poſſibility of a recovery. He firſt retook the principal cities of the *Samnites*, which had revolted from the *Romans*, and found in them not only great quantities of corn and money, but 3000 ſoldiers left by *Hannibal* for the defence of thoſe cities, whom he made priſoners. Afterwards *Cneius Fulvius*, the proconſul, with eleven tribunes, being ſlain, and the *Roman* army defeated in *Apulia*, *Marcellus* ſent letters to *Rome*, to animate the people, by aſſuring them, that he was on his march againſt *Hannibal*, and would ſoon leſſen the joy he felt for his late ſucceſs. But we are told by *Livy*, that theſe letters only ſerved to increaſe their fears; they feeling greater

* See the life of *Fabius Maximus*, in Vol. II.

pain

pain from their preſent danger, than for their paſt loſs, on account of their eſteeming *Marcellus* a greater general than *Fulvius*.

Marcellus, now marching into *Lucania*, found the enemy encamped on inacceſſible mountains, on which he himſelf encamped in the plain, and the next day ranged his army in order of battle; when *Hannibal* coming down, a very bloody engagement enſued, which began at the third hour, and continued till the two armies were ſeparated by the night; yet the next morning, at break of day, *Marcellus* again drew up his army among the dead bodies on the field of battle, and challenged *Hannibal* to renew the engagement, and decide the conteſt. But he chuſing rather to retire, *Marcellus* cauſed the ſpoils of the enemy to be gathered, and the bodies of the dead to be burnt, and then marched in purſuit of him. *Hannibal*, however, laid ſeveral ambuſcades for him; but he had the addreſs to eſcape them all, and had, beſides, the advantage in every encounter and engagement, which ſo far increaſed his reputation at *Rome*, that, on the approach of the time for the election of new conſuls, the ſenate thought it moſt adviſable to recal *Lævinus*, the other conſul, from *Sicily*, than to give the leaſt interruption to *Marcellus*, who oppoſed *Hannibal* with ſuch ſucceſs. After which, *Quintus Fulvius* was choſen dictator, and *Marcellus* continued in his command under the quality of proconſul.

It being afterwards agreed by letters, that *Fabius Maximus* the conſul ſhould beſiege *Tarentum*, while he ſhould prevent *Hannibal*'s relieving that place, he marched after him with the utmoſt expedition, and came up with him at *Canuſium*; when *Hannibal*, continually ſhifting his camp to decline coming to a battle, *Marcellus* purſued him cloſely, encamped conſtantly in his ſight, and appeared every morning ready to engage him; at laſt, coming unexpectly upon him, when he was encamping in a plain, he ſo harraſſed his army by little ſkirmiſhes, that a general battle at length enſued, which laſted till they were parted by the night: but early the next morning, the *Romans* again appeared in order of battle. This greatly enraged *Hannibal*, who aſſembling his army, made a ſpeech, in which he exhorted the ſoldiers to fight with their uſual bravery, in order to ſupport the glory they had already gained, and to ſecure the fruits of their former victories: "For you ſee, "ſaid he, after all our ſucceſs, and our be-"ing ſo lately conquerors, we are ſcarce al-"lowed time to breathe; nor are we likely "to enjoy the leaſt quiet, till we drive this "man back." Inſtantly both armies charged with great fury: but at length, *Marcellus* ſeeing his right wing preſſed hard, ordered one of his legions to advance from the rear to the front, which occaſioning a diſorder among his troops, the *Romans* were defeated, and loſt above two thouſand men on the ſpot.

Marcellus

Marcellus then retreated to his camp, and ſummoning the army before him, told the ſoldiers, that he ſaw the arms and bodies of *Romans*, but not one *Roman* among them; and, on their aſking his pardon for their fault, he replied, that this they muſt not expect while they continued beaten, but that it ſhould be granted as ſoon as they had conquered; and that the next morning he would lead them again to battle, that the news of their victory might reach *Rome* before that of their flight. On his diſmiſſing them, he ordered, that barley inſtead of wheat ſhould be given to the companies that had turned their backs and loſt their colours. The ſoldiers were ſo affected by this diſcourſe, that tho' many of them had ſuffered much, and were deeply wounded, there were none among them who did not feel more pain from his words, than from their wounds.

Early the next morning, the ſcarlet robe, which was the ſignal of battle, was hung out, when the companies that fled in the laſt engagement, at their earneſt requeſt, obtained leave to be placed in the foremoſt rank; and then the reſt of the troops were drawn up in their proper order. This being told to *Hannibal*, he cried, "Ye gods! what is to "be done with a man who is affected neither "by good nor bad fortune? He alone, when "conqueror, gives us no reſt, and when "conquered, takes none himſelf. We muſt "reſolve to fight with him for ever; for the "glory of a victory, and the ſhame of a de-

" feat, equally inſpire him with new cou-
" rage, and ſpur him on to freſh attempts."

Both armies ſoon engaged; when *Hannibal*, ſeeing the advantage equal on both ſides, ordered the elephants to be brought up, and driven againſt the van of the *Roman* army. Theſe at firſt occaſioned ſome terror and confuſion; but *Flavius*, a tribune, ſnatching an enſign, boldly advanced, and, with the point of it, wounded the firſt elephant, which turning back, ran upon the ſecond, and the ſecond upon the third, till they were all thrown into confuſion. *Marcellus* perceiving this, reſolved to take advantage of the diſorder cauſed by the elephants, and ordering the horſe to attack the *Carthaginians*, they did ſo with great fury, and ſoon drove them, with prodigious ſlaughter, back to their intrenchments. In this battle, eight thouſand of the enemy were ſlain, and on the ſide of the *Romans* three thouſand, beſides almoſt all the reſt were wounded. This gave *Hannibal* an opportunity of decamping by night, and of removing to a conſiderable diſtance; for *Marcellus* was prevented by the number of the wounded from purſuing him; he therefore retired with his army by ſlow and eaſy marches into *Campania*, and in order to recover and refreſh his ſoldiers, ſpent the ſummer at *Sinueſſa*.

Mean while *Hannibal*'s army being under no manner of reſtraint, ravaged ſeveral parts of *Italy* with fire and ſword. This gave

gave occaſion to the enemies of *Marcellus* at *Rome* to incite *Publius Bibulus*, one of the tribunes of the people, a man of a violent temper, and a conſiderable orator, to form an accuſation againſt him. This coming to the ears of *Marcellus*, he committed the care of the army to his lieutenants, and haſtened to *Rome* to refute the calumnies uttered by his enemies. On his arrival, he found that a charge was drawn up againſt him, in which he was accuſed of having left the ſeat of war, in order to go to the baths to refreſh himſelf after his fatigues. On the day when his cauſe was to be tried, *Bibulus* aſcended the tribune's ſeat, and accuſed him with great vehemence. The anſwer of *Marcellus* was plain and ſhort, but the great men and principal citizens warmly engaged in his defence, exhorting the people not to ſhew themſelves worſe judges than the enemy, by condemning for cowardice the only *Roman* general whom *Hannibal* was ſollicitous to avoid, and, in ſhort, *Marcellus* was not only acquitted, but was a fifth time choſen conſul.

Marcellus no ſooner entered upon his office, than going to the ſeveral cities of *Tuſcany*, he put a ſtop to a very dangerous ſedition, and at his return, having built a temple out of the ſpoils brought from *Sicily*, he reſolved to dedicate it to *Virtue* and *Honour*; but was prevented by the prieſts, who would not allow one temple to contain two deities. When being highly diſpleaſed at the oppoſition

ſition he had met with, he began to build another to *Virtue*. As ſeveral other omens happened at the ſame time, the augurs ſtill detained him at *Rome*, notwithſtanding his extreme impatience to come to a deciſive battle with *Hannibal*. However, as ſoon as the diviners had finiſhed ſuch ſacrifices and expiations as they thought proper, *Marcellus* and his colleague departed in order to proſecute the war againſt the *Carthaginians*, and encamping between the cities of *Bantia* and *Venuſia*, endeavoured by all poſſible means to bring *Hannibal* to a battle, which he, with equal induſtry, ſtrove to avoid; but being informed that the conſuls had ſent troops to beſiege the city of the *Epizephyrians*, or weſtern *Locrians*, he laid an ambuſcade near the hill of *Petilia*, and ſlew two thouſand five hundred *Romans*. This heightening *Marcellus*'s deſire of coming to a battle, he encamped nearer to the enemy.

As there was between the two armies a ſmall hill that had a pretty ſteep aſcent, and was covered with buſhes and thickets, with holes and ditches on its ſides, from whence iſſued ſeveral ſprings, the *Romans* were ſurprized that *Hannibal* on coming firſt to ſo commodious a place ſhould not have taken poſſeſſion of it. Though *Hannibal* might think this a proper place for a camp, he judged it much fitter for an ambuſcade, and therefore choſe to put it to that uſe, and not doubting that ſo advantageous a ſituation would entice the *Romans* thither, filled the thickets

thickets and hollows with ſpearmen and archers. Indeed this hill inſtantly became the ſubject of converſation in the *Roman* camp, and, as if all the ſoldiers had been generals, every one expatiated on the advantages they ſhould obtain by encamping, or at leaſt raiſing a fortification, on this hill. *Marcellus* therefore reſolved to take a view of the place himſelf, and took with him *Criſpinus* his colleague, his ſon *Marcellus*, who was a tribune, and about two hundred and twenty horſe, all *Tuſcans*, except forty *Fregellanians*, who had given him ſignal proofs of their fidelity, affection, and courage. On the ſummit of the hill, which was woody, and covered with brambles, was placed a centinel, who ſeeing, without being diſcovered, all the motions of the *Romans*, gave intelligence of every thing that paſſed to thoſe who lay in ambuſh: theſe therefore lay cloſe, till finding that *Marcellus* had reached the foot of the hill, they ſuddenly ruſhed out, and having diſcharged a ſhower of arrows, attacked him on all ſides with their ſwords and ſpears, ſome ruſhing on thoſe who ſtood their ground, and others purſuing thoſe that fled. The *Tuſcans* having run away at the firſt charge, the forty *Fregellanians* cloſed together in a body, in order to defend and ſave the conſuls: but at length *Criſpinus*, being wounded by two arrows, turned his horſe to make his eſcape; and *Marcellus* being run through the body with a lance, fell down dead; then the few remaining *Fregellanians* made their eſcape, and

and carrying off the ſon of *Marcellus*, who was wounded, fled with him to the camp. In this ſkirmiſh, the number of the ſlain did not amount to much above forty; and only eighteen were taken priſoners, beſides five lictors: but *Criſpinus* died a few days after of his wounds *.

The *Romans* had never before the misfortune to loſe both their conſuls in one engagement. *Hannibal*, who at firſt imagined this defeat of little conſequence, no ſooner heard that *Marcellus* was ſlain, than he haſted to the place of battle, and on his approaching the body, ſtood for ſome time to view it, without uttering one inſulting word, or diſcovering the leaſt ſign of joy at the death of ſo formidable an enemy. But appearing ſurprized at the ſtrange and undeſerved death of ſo great a man, took the ſignet from *Marcellus*'s finger, and gave orders that his body ſhould be magnificently adorned and burnt; which being performed, he cauſed his aſhes to be put into a ſilver urn covered with a crown of gold, and ſent them to his ſon. But ſome *Numidians* meeting thoſe who carried the urn, attacked them in order to ſeize it; and, while the others ſtood on their defence to preſerve it, the aſhes in the ſcuffle happened to be ſpilt; which being told to *Hannibal*, he cried, "It "is impoſſible to oppoſe the will of the "gods." He however puniſhed thoſe *Numidians*;

* This ſkirmiſh, ſo fatal to *Marcellus*, happened in the 206th year before the birth of our Saviour.

BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE VITTORIO EMANUELE III
Vol. III.

HANNIBAL concerned at seeing the dead Body of MARCELLUS his Enemy.

midians: but took no care to collect the aſhes, imagining, that the gods had decreed that *Marcellus* ſhould die after ſo ſtrange a manner, and his remains be denied the honour of a burial. Theſe particulars are mentioned by *Valerius Maximus* and *Cornelius Nepos*; but *Livy* and *Auguſtus Cæſar* ſay, that the urn was actually carried to his ſon *Marcellus*, and honoured with a magnificent funeral.

The public donations of *Marcellus*, beſides what he dedicated at *Rome*, were a magnificent *Gymnaſium*, which he built at *Catana* in *Sicily*, and ſeveral pictures and ſtatues brought from *Syracuſe*, which he ſet up in the temple of *Minerva* at *Lindus*, in which was alſo a ſtatue of himſelf; and, in the temple of the gods called *Cabiri* in the iſland of *Samothracia*. His family flouriſhed with great ſplendor till the reign of *Auguſtus*, when *Marcellus* died very young, ſoon after he had married *Julia*, that emperor's daughter. To his honour *Octavia*, his mother, dedicated a library, and *Auguſtus* a theatre, which were named the library and theatre of *Marcellus*.

We have now given the moſt remarkable circumſtances in the lives of *Pelopidas* and *Marcellus*, whence it appears, that both were endowed with magnanimity and courage, indefatigable induſtry, and uncommon ſtrength of body: but *Marcellus* ſuffered great ſlaughter to be committed in moſt of the cities he ſtormed; while, to the honour of *Pelopidas* and *Epaminondas*, they never ſpilt the blood of

commander the world had ever ſeen; that *Pyrrhus* was the ſecond, and himſelf the third: on which *Scipio* aſked him with a ſmile, "What would you have ſaid had you van-"quiſhed me?" "*Scipio*, he replied, I "would not then have reckoned myſelf the "the third, but the firſt commander."

The *Romans* recollected, and mentioned with admiration, theſe inſtances of *Scipio*'s behavour, and were the more incenſed againſt *Titus*. There were, however, many who applauded the action; for they conſidered *Hannibal* as a fire which only wanted bellows to blow it into a flame; and there are ſome who tell us, that *Titus* did not act thus of his own accord, but was joined in commiſſion with *Lucius Scipio*; and that the whole deſign of their embaſſy was to effect the death of that brave *Carthaginian*.

There are no other accounts after this of the life of *Titus*, either in relation to war, or the adminiſtration of the government, and we are only informed that he died a natural death.

If we compare *Philopœmen* with *Titus*, we ſhall find, that neither *Philopœmen*, nor any other man, conferred ſuch benefits on *Greece* as *Titus*; for they were *Grecians* making war on *Grecians*; while *Titus* was a *Roman*, who fighting in their behalf, recovered them from their ſubjection to the *Macedonians*, and then generouſly reſtored their liberties. The former indeed, by the numerous victories he

obtained, acquired more trophies; while *Titus* decided the conteſt betwixt himſelf and *Philip* in two engagements: but *Rome* ſhared in the glory of the latter, who made uſe of the forces of that great and flouriſhing ſtate; while *Philopœmen*'s glory was intirely his own: the one had brave and well-diſciplined troops under his command; the other rendered thoſe brave whom he commanded, he being forced to new diſcipline, and new model his ſoldiery. Thus what is of the greateſt moment in gaining a victory, was the invention of the one, while the other practiſed only what was already in uſe. As to acts of perſonal bravery, there are many of *Philopœmen*'s, but none of *Titus*'s: *Philopœmen* ran with his drawn ſword wherever he ſaw the *Macedonians* ſtanding firm and fighting bravely; but *Titus* ſtood ſtill, with his arms ſtretched open, imploring the gods. *Titus*, it is true, acquitted himſelf well, both as a governor and ambaſſador; but *Philopœmen* was no leſs ſerviceable to the *Achæans* as a private man than as a commander; for whenever the public good required it, he waited not the formality of being choſen general, but conferred the command upon himſelf, and was chearfully obeyed. In fine, *Titus*'s equity, clemency, and humanity towards the *Grecians*, are proofs of a great and generous mind; but *Philopœmen*'s reſolution in aſſerting the liberty of his country, againſt the *Romans* whom he ſuſpected, is ſomething ſtill greater;

greater; as it is a more difficult talk to oppoſe the powerful, than to relieve the diſtreſſed. Upon the whole, the preference may be given to the *Roman* with reſpect to juſtice and clemency, and to the *Grecian* for bravery and ſkill in military affairs.

THE

THE

LIFE

OF

PYRRHUS.

ÆACIDES king of the *Moloſſians*, had, by his wife *Pthia*, *Pyrrhus*, the ſubject of this hiſtory, and two daughters, *Deidamia* and *Troias*; but being depoſed in an inſurrection, the *Moloſſians* raiſed to the throne one of the ſons of *Neoptolemus*, and murdered all the friends of *Æacides* that fell into their hands. *Pyrrhus*, then an infant, was ſaved by *Androclides* and *Angelus*, who ſecured him from the aſſaſſins, and fled with a few domeſtics, and ſome women who were the child's nurſes: but theſe retarding their flight, they were ſoon overtaken by the enemy. In this extremity, they committed the infant prince to the care of *Menander*, *Hippias*,

numerous, that it would be a labour to reckon them up, was never wounded: but it may be ſaid in excuſe for *Pelopidas*, that beſides being tranſported by the heat of battle, his heroic ardour was inflamed by a brave and noble deſire of being revenged on a tyrant who was a diſgrace to human nature. On the other hand, *Marcellus* was not carried away by the fury and enthuſiaſm that ſtifles reaſon, and ſhuts the eyes in the greateſt danger, but ruſhed headlong into it, like a ſcout or ſpy. I would not be thought to intend this as an accuſation againſt theſe great men; but rather as a complaint of the injury they did themſelves in preferring their courage to all their other virtues, and raſhly ſacrificing their lives, when they ought to have preſerved them for the ſervice of their country, their friends, and their allies. *Pelopidas* was interred by thoſe in whoſe cauſe he was ſlain, and the funeral pile of *Marcellus* was lighted by the very enemies who ſlew him. The former was an high honour, but the latter was ſtill more glorious, ſince it is much more for an enemy to admire and reverence the virtue by which he has ſuffered, than for a friend to be grateful for the benefits he has received.

THE

LIFE

OF

ARISTIDES.

THIS great *Athenian* was the ſon of *Lyſimachus*, and is ſaid to have been always very poor, while ſome have taken great pains, tho' with little appearance of truth, to prove that he was rich. He was the intimate friend of *Cliſthenes*, who ſettled the government of *Athens* after the expulſion of the *Piſiſtratidæ*; and had a particular veneration for the memory of *Lycurgus* the *Spartan* legiſlator; whence he came to be a favourer of ariſtocracy, in which he was conſtantly oppoſed by *Themiſtocles*, who was equally zealous for a popular government. According to ſome authors, they were always at variance when

when boys, even in their ſports and diverſions; and, it is ſaid, that the difference of their tempers was early diſcovered by their continual oppoſition: *Themiſtocles* being compliant, daring, artful, and ſubtle, variable, but eager and impetuous in his purſuits; while *Ariſtides* was firm and ſteady in his reſolutions, immoveably juſt, and incapable of the leaſt falſhood, flattery, diſguiſe, or deceit. *Themiſtocles*, by gaining friends, obtained conſiderable intereſt and authority; and being told that he would govern the *Athenians* admirably, if he would but take care to avoid partiality, he anſwered, "May I "never ſit on a tribunal where my friends "will not be more reſpected and favoured "than ſtrangers." But *Ariſtides* would never do the leaſt injuſtice to oblige his friends; for it was his opinion, that the ſecurity of a good citizen, muſt always conſiſt in doing and adviſing what is juſt and fit to be done.

In the mean while *Themiſtocles* oppoſing him in all his deſigns, *Ariſtides* was reduced to the neceſſity of obſtructing whatever he propoſed, as well in his own defence, as to put a ſtop to his growing power, which, by the favour of the people, was daily encreaſing: for he choſe to oppoſe ſome things that would be of real advantage to the public, rather than to ſuffer the power of the commonwealth to fall into his hands. Thus when *Themiſtocles* one day recommended ſomething that would be of great advantage, *Ariſtides* oppoſed him warmly, and with ſuc-

ceſs; but, on his leaving the aſſembly, he could not forbear crying aloud, That the *Athenians* would never be ſafe till they threw *Themiſtocles* and him into the *Barathrum* *. Thus he frequently propoſed his ſentiments, by a ſecond or third perſon, for fear *Themiſtocles*, from envy or hatred to him, ſhould oppoſe what would be of public advantage.

Ariſtides was deſervedly admired for his firmneſs and conſtancy in the ſudden and unexpected changes that frequently happen to perſons concerned in the great affairs of ſtate. Being neither elated by honours, nor dejected by diſappointments, he enjoyed conſtant eaſe and ſerenity of mind: for it was his fixed opinion, that a man ought to be wholly at his country's command, and on all occaſions be ready to ſerve it, without any of the ſelfiſh views of honour and profit; and his propenſity to juſtice was ſo ſtrong, as not to ſuffer him to be influenced either by friendſhip or enmity. Thus, it is ſaid, that when proſecuting one who had injured him, finding, after he had finiſhed his accuſation, that the judges were going to paſs ſentence without hearing the accuſed, he ſeconded the requeſt

* This was a deep pit into which condemned priſoners were caſt head-long. It was a dark and noiſome hole, and had ſharp ſpikes at the top, that none might eſcape out, and others at the bottom, to pierce thoſe that were thrown into it. *Potter's Antiquities*, vol. i. p. 134.

of

of his adverſary, who deſired to be heard, and pleaded that he ought not to be denied the benefit of the laws. Another time, ſitting as judge between two private perſons, and one of them ſaying that his adverſary had frequently injured *Ariſtides*, "Friend, ſaid he, "interrupting him, tell me only what injuries he has done to thee, for I ſet here to "judge thy cauſe, not mine."

On his being choſen public treaſurer, he ſoon ſhewed, that not only thoſe of his time, but the preceding officers, had applied great part of the public money to their private uſe, particularly *Themiſtocles*, who, notwithſtanding his wiſdom and bravery, took every means of enriching himſelf. When *Ariſtides* therefore was to bring in his accounts, *Themiſtocles* raiſed a ſtrong party againſt him, and accuſing him of miſapplying the public money, procured his condemnation: but the principal perſons in the city oppoſing ſo unjuſt a ſentence, he was not only freed from the fine impoſed on him, but appointed treaſurer for the following year. He then rendered himſelf acceptable to thoſe who robbed the public, by being leſs ſtrict in examining their accounts; upon which they gave him the higheſt commendations, and made intereſt with the people for his being continued another year in his office. But, on the day of election, when the *Athenians* were unanimouſly going once more to appoint him treaſurer, he ſeverely rebuked them. "When I "diſcharged my office faithfully and with

" honour, ſaid he, I was reviled and diſ-
" graced; but now I have ſuffered your trea-
" ſury to be plundered by theſe public rob-
" bers, I am applauded as the beſt of citi-
" zens. But I am more aſhamed of the ho-
" nour done me to-day, than of the ſentence
" paſſed againſt me laſt year: for with con-
" cern and indignation I ſee, that you think
" there is greater merit in obliging ill men,
" than in faithfully managing the public re-
" venue," Thus he ſtopped the mouths of all who plundered the public, even while they were extolling him, and giving ample teſtimony in his behalf.

The king of *Perſia* ſending a fleet, on the pretence of taking revenge on the *Athenians* for their burning of *Sardis*, but really to conquer all *Greece*: this fleet no ſooner arrived at *Marathon*, than the *Perſians* began to ravage all the neighbouring country. Upon this the *Athenians* appointed ten generals to command in that war; the chief of whom was *Miltiades*, and the next to him in authority and reputation was *Ariſtides*. *Miltiades*, in a council of war, propoſing to give the enemy battle, *Ariſtides* ſeconded him, and the generals having the chief command by turns, when the day came on which *Ariſtides* had the command, he reſigned it to *Miltiades*. Thus preventing all jealouſy and contention, he made the other generals ſenſible of their happineſs, in being guided by a perſon of the greateſt experience, ſo that, reſigning alſo their turns, and ſubmitting entirely to his orders, *Miltia-*

des

des had the undivided and abſolute command of the army. As in this battle the main body of the *Athenian* army was hard preſſed, by the Barbarians making their greateſt efforts there, *Ariſtides* and *Themiſtocles* placed themſelves at the head of the tribes to which they belonged, and oppoſed the enemy with ſuch bravery and reſolution, that they were put to flight and driven back to their ſhips. The *Greeks* then perceiving that the Barbarians, inſtead of returning towards *Aſia*, were forced by the winds and currents towards *Attica*, and fearing that they would ſurprize the city of *Athens*, when unprovided for a defence, they haſted with nine tribes to its aſſiſtance, and marched with ſuch expedition *, that they arrived there the ſame day.

Ariſtides was left with his tribe at *Marathon* to guard the priſoners and booty, and fully anſwered the high opinion that had been entertained of him; for, notwithſtanding there being great quantities of gold and ſilver in the camp, and the tents with the ſhips they had taken, contained rich apparel, and all kinds of wealth, yet he forbore to touch any thing; but he could not render every one equally honeſt. For notwithſtanding the ſtrictneſs of his orders, ſome, unknown to him, obtained great wealth. Among theſe

* The diſtance from *Marathon* to *Athens* is forty miles.

was *Callias* the torch-bearer †, who being privately met by one of the Barbarians, was perhaps taken by him for a king, on account of the length of his hair, and his head being encompaſſed by a fillet; for the Barbarian fell on his knees before him, and diſcovered to him a great quantity of gold hid in the bottom of a well: on which *Callias* had the injuſtice and cruelty to kill the man on the ſpot, to prevent his diſcovering the treaſure to others.

Of all the virtues of *Ariſtides*, that by which he was moſt diſtinguiſhed was his juſtice, which was ſo eminent, that he acquired the moſt noble and divine appellation of *The Juſt*: a title of which kings and tyrants were never fond, they chuſing rather to be ſtiled *Nicanors*, or conquerors; *Cerauni*, thunderbolts; *Poliorcetes*, takers of cities; while others, preferring the brutal power of doing miſchief to the divine attribute Virtue, have been pleaſed with the appellation of *Eagles* and *Vultures*. But, though the ſurname of *Juſt* at firſt procured *Ariſtides* reſpect and love, it at laſt excited envy. This was principally owing to *Themiſtocles*, who ſpread a report among the people, that *Ariſtides*, by making himſelf ſole arbitrator and judge in all diſputes, had aboliſhed all courts of judica-

† This was a very conſiderable office, as the Torch-bearer was admitted to the moſt ſecret myſteries of religion. The villain here mentioned was couſin-german to *Ariſtides*.

ture,

ture, and inſenſibly rendered himſelf ſupreme, though he had neither guards nor attendants. The people, grown inſolent by their late ſucceſs, thought that every thing ought to depend on their pleaſure, and looked with reſentment on every man of ſuperior eminence and reputation. They therefore aſſembling at *Athens* from every part of *Attica*, baniſhed *Ariſtides* by the oſtraciſm, diſguiſing their envy of his glory, under the ſpecious pretence of hatred to tyranny. Thus it was uſual for every *Athenian* who envied the growing greatneſs of another, to diſcharge all his ſpleen and malice by a ten year's baniſhment.

The affair of the oſtraciſm was conducted in the following manner: every citizen took a ſhell or a piece of broken pot, and having wrote on it the name of the perſon he would have baniſhed, carried it to a certain part of the market-place incloſed with wooden rails. The magiſtrates then began to count the number of the ſhells, or bits of pot; for, if there were not ſix thouſand, the oſtraciſm was void; but, if the number was compleat, every name was laid by itſelf, and that perſon whoſe name was found on the greateſt number of pieces was declared baniſhed for ten years; but he was allowed to enjoy the produce of his eſtate. It is ſaid that when the citizens were inſcribing their names on the ſhells, in order to baniſh *Ariſtides*, an illiterate man came to him, and giving him a ſhell, deſired him to write *Ariſtides* upon it. When being a little ſurprized,

ſurpriſed, he aſked the fellow, if *Ariſtides* had ever injured him: "No, not in the leaſt, "replied the other, I do not ſo much as "know him; but I am weary of hearing "him every where called *the Juſt*." To this *Ariſtides* made no anſwer, but, taking the ſhell, wrote his own name upon it, and returned it to be uſed againſt himſelf. On his leaving the city to go into baniſhment, he lift up his eyes to heaven, and generouſly prayed to the gods, *that the* Athenians *might never ſee the day when they ſhould be forced to remember* Ariſtides.

When *Xerxes* marched three years after, through *Theſſaly* and *Bœotia*, to *Attica*, the *Athenians*, apprehending, that ſhould *Ariſtides* join the enemy, he might induce many of the citizens to go over to them, they publiſhed a decree to call home all the exiles. But they miſtook the character of *Ariſtides*; for he had conſtantly animated the *Greeks* to maintain their liberty, and after the decree, when *Themiſtocles* was choſen general, he had the magnanimity to join him, and from the love he felt for his country, generouſly ſacrificed all private reſentment, and by aſſiſting him with this perſon and counſel, contributed as much as was in his power to raiſe his greateſt enemy to the higheſt pitch of glory *. *Themiſtocles*, ſtruck with the nobleneſs of ſoul he diſcovered in their firſt inter-

* See theſe particulars more fully related in the life of *Themiſtocles*, inſerted in Vol. I.

view,

BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE VITTORIO EMANUELE III
NAPOLI

ARISTICLES generously offers his Assistance to THEMISTOCLES his Enemy.

view, confeſſed, that he was aſhamed in being thus excelled in generoſity, and, laying open his ſecret deſigns, *Ariſtides* readily aſſiſted him in executing them. While the *Grecian* commanders were debating, whether they ſhould comply with the deſire of *Themiſtocles*, who had bravely reſolved to attack the *Perſian* fleet, *Ariſtides* perceiving that *Pſyttalia*, a ſmall iſland in the ſtreights, oppoſite to *Salamin*, was in the poſſeſſion of the enemy, he landed with ſome of the braveſt and moſt reſolute of his countrymen, and attacking the enemy with the utmoſt intrepidity, they were all cut to pieces, except ſome of the principal perſons, who were made priſoners; among whom were three ſons of *Sandauce*, the ſiſter of *Xerxes*, whom *Ariſtides* inſtantly ſent to *Themiſtocles*, and it is ſaid, that, at the command of a certain oracle, they were, by the direction of *Euphrantides*, the diviner, ſacrificed to *Bacchus*. As the heat of the battle was round *Pſyttalia*, *Ariſtides* placed troops on its coaſt, that none of the friends of the *Athenians* might periſh, nor none of their enemies eſcape; and after the battle was over, a trophy was erected in that iſland.

Themiſtocles had no ſooner defeated the *Perſian* fleet, than he propoſed to *Ariſtides*, their breaking down the bridge that *Xerxes* had formed over the *Helleſpont*. This *Ariſtides* warmly oppoſed, leſt it ſhould force the *Perſians* to make an obſtinate defence. *Themiſtocles* therefore ſent one of the captives privately

vately to inform the king, that, from his desire to serve him, he had used his utmost endeavours to divert the *Greeks* from this design of destroying the bridge over the *Hellespont*. At which *Xerxes* being alarmed, retired with the utmost expedition, but left behind him an army composed of 3,000,000 of his best troops.

This prodigious army kept up the fears of the *Greeks*, while their apprehensions were increased by the haughty letters they received from the king's lieutenant-general, who, in one of them, said, "You have defeated at "sea men unskilled at the oar, and only ac- "customed to fight on land; but the plains of *Thessaly* and *Bœotia* afford us an opportu- "nity of letting you see the bravery of our "horse and foot." But, in his letters to the *Athenians*, he offered to rebuild their city, to give them large sums of money, and to render them the masters of *Greece*, on condition of their withdrawing their forces, and giving their allies no farther assistance. The *Lacedæmonians*, fearing these proposals would be accepted, sent ambassadors to intreat the *Athenians* to send their wives and children to *Sparta*, for their greater security; and with offers of supporting likewise the old and infirm; for *Athens* having been destroyed, and the country ravaged by the *Persians*, the people suffered the extremest poverty. But the *Athenians*, by the advice of *Aristides*, returned the ambassadors this noble answer; *That they forgave their enemies, for thinking that every thing*

thing was to be purchaſed by money, becauſe they, perhaps, knew nothing of greater value; while they were highly offended, that the Lacedæmonians, *regarding only their preſent poverty and diſtreſs, and, forgetful of the honour and virtue of the* Athenians, *ſhould think an allowance of bread to their poor, the only ſufficient motive to induce them to continue firm to their alliance, and to fight for the ſafety of* Greece. The ambaſſadors having received this anſwer, *Ariſtides* ordered them to tell the *Lacedæmonians, That all the gold upon earth, and all contained within its bowels, was leſs valuable to the* Athenians, *than the liberty of* Greece. Then the ambaſſadors from the *Perſians* being called in, *Ariſtides*, ſhewing them the ſun, ſaid, *That ſo long as that luminary continued its courſe, ſo long would the* Athenians *wage war againſt the* Perſians, *to revenge the burning of their temples, and the plundering of their country.* He alſo preferred a decree, that whoever ſhould ſend ambaſſadors to the *Perſians*, or deſert the *Grecian* alliance, ſhould be ſolemnly curſed by the prieſts.

Mardonius, the lieutenant-general of *Xerxes*, ſoon after making a ſecond incurſion into *Attica*, the *Athenians* again retired to the iſle of *Salamin*. Mean while, according to *Idomeneus*, *Ariſtides* was ſent ambaſſador to *Sparta*, where he reproached the *Lacedæmonians* with their abandoning *Athens* again to the Barbarians, and earneſtly exhorted them to march ſpeedily to the relief of that part of *Greece* which was not yet fallen into the

hands of the enemy. The Ephori, however, ſeemed but little moved with this exhortation, and it happening to be the feſtival of *Hyacinthus*, they ſpent the whole day in feaſting and merriment; but at night privately diſpatched 5000 *Spartans*, each taking with him ſeven *Helots*. Afterwards, *Ariſtides* complaining again, the Ephori told him with a ſmile, that he muſt either doat or dream, ſince their army had by that time advanced as far as *Oreſtium*; to which *Ariſtides* replied, that it was not then a time to divert themſelves, by deceiving their friends inſtead of their enemies. However, in *Ariſtides*'s decree, no mention is made of his being ſent, the ambaſſadors being *Cimon*, *Xanthippus* and *Myronides*.

Some time after, *Ariſtides* being appointed commander in chief of the *Athenian* forces, he marched with 8000 foot to *Plataeæ*, where he was joined by *Pauſanias*, general of all *Greece*, at the head of the *Spartans*, and the other *Grecian* troops daily arrived in great numbers. The *Perſian* army, which was encamped along the ſide of the river *Aſopus*, covered a prodigious tract of ground, in the middle of which was thrown up a ſquare wall, ten furlongs in length, on each ſide, for the ſecurity of their baggage and valuable effects.

Ariſtides ſending to conſult the oracle of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, was anſwered, That the *Athenians* ſhould gain the victory, provided they offered their ſupplications to *Jupiter*, to

Juno

Juno the patroneſs of mount *Citheron*, to *Pan*, and to the nymphs *Sphragitides*,* ; and alſo ſacrificed to ſeveral heroes that were mentioned, and fought only in their own country in the plain of *Ceres*, the *Eleuſinian*, and *Proſerpine*. At this anſwer *Ariſtides* was much perplexed, for if they fought in the plain of the *Eleuſinian Ceres*, the ſeat of war muſt be transferred into *Attica*. Mean while *Arimneſtus*, the *Platæan* general, dreamed that *Jupiter*, the Saviour, coming to him, aſked, What was the reſolution taken by the *Grecians?* to which he anſwered, We ſhall march tomorrow, to engage the enemy, according to the directions of the oracle, into the territories of *Eleuſis*. To which the God replied, that, upon enquiry, he would find, that the place mentioned by the oracle, was the country round *Platææ*. *Arimneſtus* no ſooner awoke, than, ſending for the moſt aged of his countrymen, he, by conſulting them, at laſt found, that at the foot of mount *Citheron*, was a very old ſtructure called the temple of *Eleuſinian Ceres* and *Proſerpine*, and conducting *Ariſtides* to the place, they found it very proper for drawing up an army of foot not well provided with horſe; after which the *Platæans*, in order that the oracle might be obeyed in every particular, made a decree to alter the boundaries between their country and *Greece*, by enlarging the

* The nymphs of mount *Citheron* were thus called.

territories of *Attica*, that, according to the direction of the oracle, the *Athenians* might engage the enemy in their own dominions.

It being ſoon after propoſed to draw up the whole army in order of battle, a warm diſpute aroſe between the *Tegeatæ* and the *Athenians*; the former pretending, that, as in all battles, the *Lacedæmonians* commanded the right wing, ſo the honour of commanding the left was due to them; and in juſtification of this pretenſion, they alledged the memorable exploits of their anceſtors. As this highly exaſperated the *Athenians*, *Ariſtides* advanced into the midſt of them, and ſaid, "This is not a proper time to diſpute with "the *Tegeatæ* about their valour and brave "exploits; we ſhall content ourſelves with "telling you, O *Spartans!* and all the "other *Grecians*, that it is not the poſt that "gives or takes away courage, and that "whatever poſt you ſhall aſſign us, we will "ſtrive to render it honourable, by behaving "in ſuch a manner, as to reflect no diſgrace "on our former atchievements. We are come "not to contend with our friends, but to "fight with our enemies; not to boaſt of "our anceſtors, but to exert our bra-"very in the defence of *Greece*". On hearing this, the council of war declared in favour of the *Athenians*, and gave them the command of the left wing.

Afterwards *Mardonius* being deſirous of trying the courage of the *Grecians*, ſent his cavalry, in which his principal ſtrength conſiſted,

ſiſted, to ſkirmiſh with them. All the *Greeks* were encamped in ſtrong and ſtony places, at the foot of mount *Citheron*, except the *Megarenſians* who amounted to 3000, and were in the plain. The *Perſian* horſe therefore attacking them on every ſide, they were unable to oppoſe the ſuperior power of the enemy, and ſent to *Pauſanias* for aſſiſtance. When that general perceiving the camp of the *Megarenſians*, darkened by the clouds of darts thrown into it by the Barbarians, was at a loſs how to act; and ſeeing no poſſibility of repulſing the enemy with his heavy armed *Spartans*, endeavoured to awaken the emulation of the commanders about him, that, from a point of honour, they might eagerly undertake the defence of the *Megarenſians*. When *Ariſtides*, perceiving that they all declined it, gave orders to *Olympiodorus*, the braveſt of all his officers, who had under his command a body of 300 men, and ſome archers. Theſe were ready in an inſtant, and with the utmoſt expedition marched againſt the Barbarians. *Maſiſtius*, general of the *Perſian* cavalry, who was diſtinguiſhed by his ſtrength and graceful mien, no ſooner ſaw them, than he advanced to meet them, and a ſharp conteſt enſued, in which *Maſiſtius*'s horſe being wounded by an arrow, threw his rider, who was hindered by the weight of his armour from riſing, and yet could not be eaſily ſlain, tho' the *Athenians*, who thronged about him, aſſaulted him on every ſide; for he was entirely covered

with gold, braſs, and iron: but the vizor of his helmet leaving part of his face unguarded, an *Athenian* ran his pike into his eye, and ſlew him; upon which the *Perſians* left his body, and fled. There were but a ſmall number of the *Perſians* ſlain in the field of battle; but they were ſo afflicted for the death of *Maſiſtius*, that they cut off their hair, with that of their horſes and mules, and filled the air with their cries, he being the next perſon in the army for courage and authority to *Mardonius*.

Both armies after this continued long inactive; the diviners, who examined the intrails of the ſacrifices, equally aſſuring the *Greeks* and *Perſians* of victory, on condition of their remaining on the defenſive. At length, however, *Mardonius* finding that his proviſions would laſt only a few days, and that the *Grecian* forces were continually encreaſing, by the daily arrival of freſh troops, reſolved to wait no longer, but to paſs the *Aſopus* the next morning, at break of day, in order to attack the *Greeks*, whom he expected to find unprepared. But at midnight a horſeman arriving at the *Grecian* camp, deſired the centinels to call *Ariſtides*, when that general coming immediately, he cried, "I "am *Alexander*, king of *Macedon*, who, from "my friendſhip for you have expoſed myſelf to the greateſt dangers, to prevent "your being ſo ſurprized by a ſudden attack, as not to exert your uſual bravery "and reſolution. *Mardonius*, having a ſcar-

"city

" city of proviſions, is reſolved to give you " battle to-morrow, tho' the augurs endeavour to divert him from it, and his ſoldiers are fearful and deſponding; but he " is forced to run the hazard of a battle, " ſince, by delaying it, he would ſee his " whole army periſh for want." *Alexander* then deſired *Ariſtides* to remember him as his friend, and not to reveal this intelligence to any other perſon. *Ariſtides* ſhewed the neceſſity of mentioning it to *Pauſanias*, who was general in chief; and the king of *Macedon* returning to his camp, he immediately went to *Pauſanias*'s tent, and told him what he had heard.

Upon this news all the officers were ſent for, and ordered to prepare for battle. *Pauſanias*, at the ſame time, told *Ariſtides*, that he propoſed to remove the *Athenians* from the left wing to the right, that they might be oppoſite to the *Perſians*, againſt whom they would fight with the greater bravery, from their having already experienced their manner of combat, and their being animated by their former ſucceſs; while he intended to command the left wing, where he ſhould be obliged to fight the *Greeks*, who had embraced the *Perſian* intereſt. The other *Athenian* officers were greatly offended, that *Pauſanias* ſhould thus take upon him to remove them, as if they were ſlaves, at his pleaſure. But *Ariſtides* addreſſing them, ſaid, " It is " but a few days ſince you diſputed with the " *Tegeatæ* for the command of the left wing,

" and

" and having gained it, conſidered it as a " great honour; and now the *Spartans* are " willing to give you the command of the " right wing, you are diſpleaſed at the ad- " ditional honour, and inſenſible of the ad- " vantage of not being obliged to fight " againſt your countrymen, but only againſt " Barbarians, who are naturally your enemies."

Inſpired by theſe words, the *Athenians* readily changed poſts with the *Spartans*, and exhorted each other to exert themſelves with the utmoſt bravery. " The enemy have " neither better arms, nor bolder hearts, " ſaid they, than they had at *Marathon*; " they have the ſame bows, the ſame orna- " ments of gold; the ſame embroidered " habits; the ſame ſoft and effeminate bodies. " While we have ſtill the ſame arms, with a " courage heightened by our victories: nor " do we, like them, fight for cities and " tracts of land; but for the trophies of " *Salamin* and *Marathon*." But *Mardonius* being informed of this change, either from his fear of the *Athenians*, or his reſolution to engage the *Spartans*, placed the *Perſians* in his right wing, and the *Greeks* of his party in his left, oppoſite to the *Athenians*. Upon this *Pauſanias* alſo changed again, and returned to the right wing; *Mardonius* ſtill followed his example, poſting himſelf in the left, that he might be oppoſite to the *Spartans*, and thus the day paſſed without coming to a battle.

In the evening a council of war was held in which it was reſolved to decamp: the ſprings near the camp being diſturbed and ſpoiled

ſpoiled by the enemy's horſe. At night the officers begun to march at the head of their troops, to a place marked out for a new camp, but the ſoldiers following unwillingly, were no ſooner out of their intrenchments, than the greateſt part of them made towards the city of *Platææ*, and ſome running one way, and ſome another, pitched their tents as they pleaſed, without order or diſcipline. Mean while a party of the *Lacedæmonians*, under the command of *Amompharetus*, ſtaid behind, he declaring that this decampment was a diſgraceful flight, and proteſting, that, inſtead of deſerting his poſt, he would ſtill remain there with his troops, and receive and ſuſtain the whole force of the enemy. *Pauſanias* having in vain repreſented to him, that he ought to ſubmit to the reſolution taken by the *Grecks* in council, ſent to deſire the *Athenians*, who were before, to halt, that they might all proceed in a body, and at the ſame time marched, with the reſt of the army, towards *Platææ*, hoping that *Amompharetus* would by that means be induced to quit his poſt, and join him, as he really did.

Day by this time beginning to appear, *Mardonius*, who had been informed of the decampment of the *Grecians*, marched againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, in order of battle, the Barbarian ſoldiers ſhouting, as if they were ſure of deſtroying and plundering them in their flight. *Pauſanias*, on perceiving this motion, ſtopped, and ordered every one to his poſt; but great part of the army ſtill continued irregularly ſcattered in ſmall parties,

ties, even after the fight began. In the mean time he offered ſacrifice, but finding no propitious omens, ordered the *Lacedæmonians* to lay their ſhields at their feet, and without oppoſing the enemy attend his orders. He then offered another ſacrifice; mean while the enemy's horſe were ſtill advancing, and coming within reach, ſome of the *Spartans* were wounded with arrows, and among others, *Callicrates*, the talleſt and moſt comely perſon in the whole army. That brave officer being ready to expire, ſaid, That he did not lament his death, ſince he came from home, with the deſign of ſacrificing his life for the ſafety of *Greece*; but was ſorry to die without having once drawn his ſword againſt the enemy. The ſteadineſs and bravery of the *Spartan* army, while in this ſituation, were worthy of the higheſt admiration; for making no defence againſt the enemy who charged them, but expecting the ſignal from the gods and the general, they patiently ſuffered themſelves to be wounded and ſlain in their ranks.

Pauſanias being deeply concerned at ſeeing the prieſts offer one ſacrifice after another, without obtaining one favourable omen, ſuddenly turned with his eyes full of tears, to the temple of *Juno*, and, lifting up his hands, beſought that goddeſs, the patroneſs of *Citheron*, and the other tutelar deities of the *Platæans*, that, if the fates had not decreed that the *Grecians* ſhould prove victorious, they might be at leaſt allowed to ſell their lives dearly, and not periſh without ſhewing

ſhewing the enemy, that they were to contend with men of bravery and experience. On his finiſhing this prayer, the ſacrifices appeared propitious, and the diviners aſſured him of victory. The orders were given, and in an inſtant the *Spartan* battalions appeared like the ſingle body of ſome fierce animal, erecting his briſtles, and preparing for combat. The Barbarians now ſaw, that they were to fight with men who were determined to conquer or die; therefore, covering themſelves with their targets, they diſcharged their arrows againſt the *Spartans*, who, moving in a cloſe compact body, attacked them, forced their targets out of their hands, and directed their blows at the faces and breaſts of the *Perſians*; but many of the latter, after their being thrown down, broke the *Lacedæmonian* ſpears with their hands, and then riſing, betook themſelves to their ſwords and battle-axes.

Mean while the *Athenians* waited in expectation of being joined by the *Lacedæmonians*; but being informed by an officer diſpatched to them by *Pauſanias*, that the battle was begun, haſtily marched to their aſſiſtance; but were met by the *Grecians* who had ſided with the enemy. *Ariſtides*, on ſeeing them, advanced before his army, and, calling aloud, conjured them by all the gods of *Greece*, to ceaſe that impious war, and not oppoſe the *Athenians*, who were marching to the aſſiſtance of thoſe who were hazarding their lives for the ſafety of *Greece*; but perceiving

ceiving that no regard was paid to his words, and that they march'd to oppoſe him, he attacked them, tho' they amounted to near 50,000 men. This engagement was hotteſt againſt the *Thebans*, the moſt powerful of whom having ſided with the *Perſians*, had by their authority brought out the *Theban* troops contrary to their inclinations.

Thus was the battle divided into two parts. The *Lacedæmonians* firſt broke and routed the *Perſians*, *Mardonius* himſelf being ſlain by a blow on the head with a ſtone, after which they purſued the Barbarians to their camp, which was encompaſſed, and fortified with wood. Soon after the *Athenians* routed the *Thebans*, killing 300 of the moſt conſiderable perſons among them on the ſpot. Juſt as they began to give way, news was brought, that the Barbarians were ſhut up and beſieged by the *Lacedæmonians*; upon which the *Athenians* giving the *Greeks* an opportunity to eſcape, marched to join the *Lacedæmonians*, who being unſkill'd in ſieges made but a ſmall progreſs in the attack; however, on the arrival of the *Athenians*, the camp was ſoon ſtormed, and a prodigious ſlaughter made of the Barbarians, for of 300,000 men, only 40,000 eſcaped.

Yet this glorious victory was very near proving fatal to *Greece*; for the *Athenians* abſolutely refuſing to give up the honour of the day to the *Spartans*, or to permit their erecting a trophy, they were ready to decide the diſpute by force of arms; when *Ariſtides* wiſely

wiſely interpoſing, prevailed on them to defer the deciſion of the affair to the *Grecians*; who being aſſembled, *Theogiton* the *Megarenſian*, obſerved, that the honour for which they contended, ought to be adjudged to neither *Athens* nor *Sparta*, unleſs they were reſolved to kindle the flames of a civil war. *Cleocritus* the *Corinthian*, then riſing, it was imagined he would demand this honour for his own country, *Corinth* being the moſt conſiderable city in *Greece*, next to *Athens* and *Sparta*; but they were agreeably ſurpriſed, to hear him expatiate in praiſe of the *Platæans*, and propoſe, that to extinguiſh that dangerous contention, they ſhould give the reward and glory of the victory to them. Upon which *Ariſtides* firſt agreed to this propoſal, in the name of the *Athenians*, and afterwards *Pauſanias* for the *Lacedæmonians*.

Thus being reconciled, they preſented eighty talents to the *Platæans*, which they employed in erecting a magnificent temple to *Minerva*, and a ſeparate trophy was raiſed both by the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*. On their ſending to conſult the oracle of *Delphi*, about the ſacrifice to be offered, they were told, that they ſhould erect an altar to *Jupiter the Deliverer*, but forbear ſacrificing upon it, till they had extinguiſhed all the fire in the country, on account of its having been profaned by the Barbarians, and that afterwards fire ſhould be brought from the altar of *Delphi*. The *Greeks* were no ſooner informed of this, than

the generals going all over the country, cauſed the fires to be extinguiſhed, and *Euchidas* a *Platæan*, promiſing to bring fire with the utmoſt ſpeed from the altar of *Apollo*, went to *Delphi*, where having ſprinkled and purified himſelf with water, he placed a crown of laurel on his head, and taking fire from the altar, haſted back to *Platææ*, where he arrived before ſun ſet, performing that day a journey of a thouſand furlongs: but he had no ſooner ſaluted his fellow-citizens, and delivered the fire to them, than he fell down and expired; on which the *Platæans* interred him in the temple of *Diana Eucleia*, and erected a tomb to his memory.

At the next general aſſembly of *Greece*, a decree was propoſed by *Ariſtides*, that a council of deputies from all the *Grecian* cities ſhould be annually held at *Platææ*, and that every fifth year games of liberty ſhould be celebrated: that, by a general levy made over all *Greece*, there ſhould be raiſed 10,000 foot, 1000 horſe, and 100 ſhips, to carry on the war againſt the Barbarians; but, that the *Platæans* ſhould be conſidered as ſacred, and be only employed in offering ſacrifices to the gods, for the welfare of *Greece*. This decree being paſſed, the *Platæans* undertook to perform an annual ſacrifice in honour of the *Greeks* ſlain there, which they ſtill perform in the following manner: At day-break, on the 16th day of the month *Maimacterion*, or *November*, the proceſſion begins with a trumpet ſounding the ſignal of battle; then follow

low ſeveral chariots filled with garlands, and branches of myrtle: next comes a black bull, after which proceed ſome young men who are free born, carrying the uſual libations, veſſels filled with wine and milk, oil and ointments; no ſlave being allowed to be preſent at a ſolemnity performed in honour of thoſe who died in the cauſe of liberty; and the proceſſion is cloſed by the archon, or chief magiſtrate of *Plataæ*, clothed in a purple robe, wearing a ſword, and carrying in his hand a water-pot. Being arrived at the burying-place, he takes water out of a fountain, waſhes the ſmall pillars of the monuments, and rubs them with ſweet ointments: after which he kills the bull upon a pile of wood. Then having offered his ſupplications to the * terreſtrial *Jupiter* and *Mercury*, he invites the brave men who died in the defence of *Greece* to this funeral banquet, and pouring out a bowl of wine, ſays, "This I preſent to thoſe who died for the liberty of *Greece*."

Ariſtides, on his return to *Athens*, finding that the people, elated by their victories, endeavoured by all poſſible means to get the government into their hands, and to eſtabliſh

* By the terreſtrial *Jupiter* they meant *Pluto*. The epithet terreſtrial was alſo given to *Mercury*, on account of his conducting ſouls into the lower regions.

a democracy, propoſed a decree, that every citizen ſhould have an equal right to the government, and that the archon ſhould be choſen out of the whole body of the people, without diſtinction.

Being afterwards joined in commiſſion with *Cimon*, and ſent againſt the Barbarians, they both behaved to the troops of the allies with ſuch affability and courteſy, that they inſenſibly ſtole away the ſovereign command from the *Lacedæmonians*; for, while the juſtice of *Ariſtides*, and the candour of *Cimon* endeared the *Athenians* to the confederates, *Pauſanias* rendered himſelf hated for his avarice and cruelty; he ſpoke to the officers with ſternneſs and ſeverity, and for the ſmalleſt offence the common ſoldiers were either whipt, or obliged to ſtand a whole day with an anchor on their ſhoulders: nor did they dare to provide forage for their horſes, ſtraw for themſelves to lie on, or to touch a ſpring of water, till the *Spartans* were firſt ſerved; his ſervants being conſtantly poſted with whips in their hands, to drive away thoſe who approached. The ſea captains, and the officers at land, particularly thoſe of *Chios*, *Samos*, and *Leſbos*, were ſo exaſperated at his behaviour, that they preſſed *Ariſtides* to accept the poſt of general in chief of all the confederate forces; and he anſwering, That they ought to perform ſome action that would afford a proof of their ſincerity, *Uliades* of *Samos*, and *Antagoras* of *Chios*, boldly attacked *Pauſanias*'s galley at the head of the whole fleet near *Byzantium*.

On

On which *Pauſanias* told them, they ſhould ſoon ſee, that it was not his galley, but their own country they had inſulted. To which they replied, That the beſt thing he could do was to retire, and thank *Fortune* for her favours at *Platææ*, ſince nothing but their regard for that great action reſtrained the *Greeks* from revenging the ill treatment they received from him. In ſhort, the allies now renounced their ſubmiſſion to the *Spartans*, and ranged themſelves under the *Athenian* banners. Even the *Spartan* people on this occaſion ſhewed an uncommon greatneſs of mind; for finding that their generals were corrupted by power and authority, they voluntarily reſigned the command of the confederate forces, chuſing rather to ſee their fellow-citizens prudent, modeſt, and careful to preſerve their laws and cuſtoms, than to enjoy the command of the united forces of all *Greece*.

While the *Lacedæmonians* had the command, the *Grecians* paid a tax * towards carrying

* The great reputation *Ariſtides* gained by this taxation, was ridiculed by *Themiſtocles*, who uſed to ſay, that the praiſe he received on this account, was not that of a man, but of a ſtrong box, which ſafely keeps the money put into it without diminution. By this ſneer he endeavoured to revenge a ſtroke of raillery, which had ſtung him to the quick. *Themiſtocles* ſaying, that, in his opinion, the greateſt excellency a general could poſſeſs, was his being

ing on the war; but being now desirous that every city should be rated in the most equitable manner, they entrusted *Aristides* with the care of examining all the lands and revenues, that all might pay according to their ability. Thus *Aristides* became in a manner the master of *Greece*; but, instead of reaping the least personal advantage from it, he levied the tax with such disinterestedness, tenderness and humanity, as to render it easy and agreeable to all: whence the confederate *Greeks*, celebrated this taxation as the ancients did the reign of *Saturn*, calling it *the happy fortune of Greece*.

Though *Aristides* raised the city of *Athens* to the highest pitch of glory, by establishing her dominion over so many people, he himself continued poor till his death, esteeming his poverty as glorious as all the laurels he had obtained. He gave a remarkable proof of his great candour and moderation, in his refusing to join the enemies of *Themistocles* in their accusations against him, and in his being as far from insulting him, when he was

able to foresee the designs of an enemy. "This "excellence, *Aristides* replied, is necessary; "but there is another no less noble and wor- "thy a general, which is to have clean hands, "and a soul superior to venality and interested "views."

sent

ſent into baniſhment, as he had been from envying him in his proſperity.

Some aſſert, that *Ariſtides* ended his life at *Pontus*, whither he was ſent to manage ſome affairs relating to the public; others ſay, that he died at *Athens* of old age, in great honour, eſteem, and veneration with his fellow-citizens: but *Craterus*, the *Macedonian*, gives the following account. *Themiſtocles*, ſays he, was no ſooner baniſhed, than the pride and inſolence of the populous gave riſe to many baſe informers, who attacked the reputation of the beſt and greateſt men in the city. *Ariſtides* himſelf did not eſcape, for being accuſed by *Diophantus* of *Amphitrope*, of taking a bribe from the *Ionians*, at the time of his levying the tax, he was fined fifty *minæ*, which being unable to pay, he ſet ſail from *Athens*, and died in *Ionia*. But *Craterus* produces no authorities in proof of this; and tho' almoſt all the other authors who expatiate on the injuſtice of the *Athenians* towards their governors, mention the baniſhment of *Themiſtocles*, the impriſonment of *Miltiades*, and the baniſhment of *Ariſtides* by the oſtraciſm, none of them take the leaſt notice of this condemnation. Beſides, his monument is ſtill to be ſeen at *Phalerum*: it was erected at the charge of the city of *Athens*; for he did not leave enough behind him to defray the expences of his funeral. It is alſo ſaid, that the city gave each of his daughters, at their marriage, 3000 drachmas

out

out of the public treasury, and bestowed on *Lysimachus*, his son, 100 minæ of silver, and a plantation of as many acres of land, besides a pension of four drachmas a day. It is also said, *Lysimachus*, leaving at his death a daughter named *Polycrite*, the people gave her the same allowance as those who conquered at the *Olympic* games.

THE

THE LIFE OF *CATO* THE CENSOR.

MARCUS *Cato* is ſaid to have been born at *Tuſculum*, from which place his family originally came; but that before he interfered in public affairs, he reſided at an eſtate left him by his father, near the country of the *Sabines*. It was uſual with the *Romans* to call thoſe who received no dignity from their anceſtors, but began to diſtinguiſh themſelves, by their perſonal virtues, *New Men*; whence this appellation was beſtowed upon *Cato:* but he uſed to maintain, that tho', with regard to honours and dignities, he was

was new, yet with reſpect to the great actions of his anceſtors, he was extremely ancient. His firſt name was *Priſcus*, which he afterwards changed to that of *Cato*, which was a name given by the *Romans*, to thoſe they eſteemed wiſe. His hair was red, and his eyes grey; and, by temperance and exerciſe, he acquired both health and ſtrength. Eloquence he eſteemed neceſſary for every one who would not paſs an obſcure and inactive life; he therefore took care to cultivate it by pleading in the boroughs and villages, by which means he at length acquired the reputation of being a good orator: from that time he diſcovered a gravity of behaviour, a greatneſs of mind, and a ſuperiority of genius, that ſhewed him fit for the management of the moſt important affairs; but tho' he made his diſintereſtedneſs and contempt of money appear by his pleading in defence of all who applied to him, without any fee, yet his principal ambition was not to ſhine at the bar, but in the army, by diſtinguiſhing himſelf in the field.

When very young, his breaſt was covered with ſcars from the wounds he had received in battle: for he was only ſeventeen years of age at the time of his making his firſt campaign, when all *Italy* was ravaged by *Hannibal*. He always ſtood firm, ſtruck with great ſtrength, looked fierce at the enemy, and ſpoke to him in a ſtern voice, and with threatning language; and he often obſerved, that ſuch behaviour frequently ſtrikes more terror

terror than the ſword itſelf. He conſtantly marched on foot, carrying his own arms, followed by one ſervant, who was loaded with his proviſions: and with him, it is ſaid, he was never angry, whatever food he provided for him; but when he was at leiſure from military duty, he would aſſiſt him in dreſſing it. During the whole time of his being in the army, he drank only water, unleſs when he was extremely thirſty, he would aſk for vinegar*, or when fatigued and diſpirited, he would drink a little wine.

Near his country-houſe was a little farm, which had formerly belonged to *Marius Carius*, who had been thrice honoured with a triumph. *Cato* frequently walked thither, and reflecting on the ſmall piece of land belonging to it, and the meanneſs of the dwelling, uſed to conſider, that he who was once the greateſt man in *Rome*, who had conquered the moſt warlike nations, and even expelled *Pyrrhus* out of *Italy*, had with his own hands cultivated that little ſpot, and after ſo many triumphs, dwelt in ſo poor a cottage. That there the ambaſſadors of the *Samnites* found him dreſſing turnips in his chimney corner, and offering him as a preſent a great quantity of gold; he anſwered, *That he who could be content with ſuch a ſupper, wanted no gold, and that, in his opinion, it was more glorious*

* All the *Roman* ſoldiers carried vinegar with them, to correct the water they were obliged to drink, which was ſometimes very bad.

to

to conquer thoſe to whom it belonged, than to poſſeſs the gold itſelf. *Cato* thought there was true greatneſs of ſoul in this ſimplicity, and, making it his model, encreaſed his daily labour, and retrenched all his unneceſſary expences.

Cato, when very young, ſerved under *Fabius Maximus*, when he took the city of *Tarentum*, and happening to lodge with *Nearchus*, a *Pythagorean*, was deſirous of hearing ſome of his philoſophy, on which reaſoning, like *Plato*, he told him, that pleaſure is the greateſt evil; and that the ſoul being encumbered by the body, could only diſengage itſelf by ſuch thoughts as ſeparate it from all corporeal paſſions and affections; he was ſo charmed at this diſcourſe, that he became more in love with temperance and frugality. It is ſaid, that he learned *Greek* very late, and did not begin to read the *Grecian* authors till he was advanced in years; but among theſe he received conſiderable advantage from *Demoſthenes*, in improving his eloquence. Indeed his writings are enriched with hiſtories and maxims borrowed from the *Greeks*.

Valerius Flaccus, a man of great power and eminence, who loved to encourage riſing merit, having an eſtate adjoining to *Cato*'s, frequently overheard his ſervants talk of his neighbour's induſtry and temperance; that he went early in the morning to the neighbouring villages, to plead and defend the cauſes of thoſe who applied to him; and, returning

BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE NAPOLI

Cato at Dinner with VALERIUS, *who from thence forward becomes his Friend.*

returning to the field, laboured with his domeſtics, in ſummer naked, and in winter with only a mean jacket over his ſhoulders; and when they had all done their work, ſat with them at the ſame table, eat of the ſame bread, and drank of the ſame wine: they alſo repeated many of his ſayings, which were full of wit and good ſenſe. Pleaſed with theſe accounts, *Valerius* ſent to invite him to dinner; and ſoon diſcovered, that he poſſeſſed ſuch ſweetneſs of temper, ſuch probity and good ſenſe, that, thinking him an excellent plant that deſerved to be removed into a better ſoil, he perſuaded him to go to *Rome*, and apply himſelf to the affairs of the government.

At *Rome*, he, by his pleadings, gained many friends and admirers, and was firſt made military tribune, and afterwards quæſtor. Having acquired great reputation in theſe poſts, he was joined with *Valerius* in the office of conſul, and afterwards in that of cenſor.

Among all the ancient ſenators, he chiefly attached himſelf to *Fabius Maximus*, whoſe character and manner of life he eſteemed the beſt model, by which to form his own; he therefore made no ſcruple of differing with the great *Scipio*, who, tho' very young, was one of thoſe who moſt oppoſed the power of *Fabius*. Being ſent quæſtor with *Scipio*, in the *African* war, and finding that he lived in *Sicily*, at a very great expence, and even without the leaſt œconomy diſtributed mo-

ney among his troops, he remonſtrated to him, that the greatneſs of the expence was the leaſt part of the damage, ſince it was an irreparable injury, thus to corrupt the ancient ſimplicity of the ſoldiers life, and accuſtom them to luxury, by allowing them more pay than was neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence. *Scipio* replied, that a Treaſurer was unneceſſary in a war carried on with ſuch expedition, and that he was obliged to give the people an account of his exploits, but not of the money he ſpent. Upon this *Cato* returned to *Rome*, where *Fabius* and he loudly exclaimed in the ſenate, That *Scipio* trifled away his time in theatres and places of exerciſe, as if inſtead of being ſent to make war, he was only gone to exhibit games, and public diverſions. Tribunes were therefore ſent to *Sicily* to examine into the affair, with orders to bring back *Scipio* to *Rome*, if the accuſation proved true. But on their arriving in the army, *Scipio* repreſented, that the ſucceſs of the war entirely depended on the great preparations made for it; and that when at leiſure, he had lived chearfully among his friends, but that his liberality had not prevented his obſerving the ſtricteſt diſcipline, or his amuſements rendered him remiſs in the management of important affairs. Satisfied with this anſwer, the tribunes permitted *Scipio* to ſet ſail for *Africa*.

The power and reputation which *Cato* acquired by his eloquence daily encreaſing, he was generally ſtiled the *Roman Demoſthenes*.

In

In eloquence, however, he had many rivals; but it was very extraordinary to meet with perſons, who, like him, would copy the example of their forefathers by enduring bodily labour, and be ſatisfied with frugal meals, a plain dreſs, and a poor cottage, accounting it more honourable to want, than to poſſeſs ſuperfluities. No longer was the ſtate able to preſerve the ſeverity of its ancient diſcipline, on account of its vaſt extent, and the numerous nations, who ſubmitting to its government, introduced a variety of new cuſtoms and modes of life. Juſtly therefore was *Cato* admired, who, when the people were ſoftened by pleaſure, wore, as he himſelf ſays, a cheap garment, and even when he was conſul, drank the ſame wine with the ſervants, while the proviſions for his table at dinner never coſt above thirty aſſes *. This he ſays was done from love to his country, that his body being rendered ſtrong and robuſt by a plain ſpare diet, might be more able to endure the fatigues of war. He adds, that in all his country houſes, he had not a wall plaſtered or white-waſhed †; that he never gave more than 1500 drachmas for a ſlave, refuſing thoſe that were hand-

* About 1 s. ſterling.

† The ſimplicity of life, which conſiſted in abſtaining from the moſt innocent, and the moſt elegant enjoyments, however it might be admired

ſome and genteel, and chuſing only ſuch as were ſtrong and fit for labour, and theſe he ſold when they grew old, that he might not be obliged to maintain them when grown uſeleſs.

According to ſome, this conduct proceeded from the moſt ſordid avarice; while others maintain, that he acted thus in order to correct, by his example, the extravagance and luxury of his fellow-citizens. I cannot, however, help conſidering it as a ſign of a mean and ungenerous ſpirit, to treat ſervants like beaſts of burthen, and to turn them off, or to ſell them, when they have ſpent their ſtrength, and are grown old in our ſervice, as if ſordid intereſt was the only bond that bound man to man. This is a conduct entirely inconſiſtent with juſtice and humanity. Good-nature, which has even a more extenſive ſway than the laws of mere equity, ſhould not only be extended to man, but to the very brutes that have ſerved us: acts of kindneſs

admired by the ancients, was not always laudable. There is indeed the trueſt wiſdom and the greateſt glory, in preferring an honeſt poverty, to the ſplendor that can only be purchaſed by vice: but when this was not the caſe, it could only proceed from avarice, or a want of taſte, which is generally attended with barbarity of manners. *Plutarch* juſtly cenſures *Cato*'s conduct with reſpect to his ſlaves, as both inhuman and unjuſt.

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and beneficence will flow from a good and generous mind, like water from an exuberant fountain; and a man of humanity will take care of his horſes and dogs, not only while they are young and uſeful, but even when old, and paſt their labour. Thus, after the *Athenians* had finiſhed the temple called *Hecatompedon*, they ſet at liberty the beaſts of burthen who had been employed in that work, ſuffering them to feed at large, and exempting them from all farther ſervice. For creatures, endued with life, ought not to be uſed as we do our ſhoes, or our furniture, which we throw away when worn out with uſe; on the contrary, we ſhould habituate ourſelves to tenderneſs and compaſſion in the loweſt inſtances, in order to learn benevolence to mankind. As for myſelf, I would never ſell an ox who had laboured till he was grown old in my ſervice; much leſs could I bear, for the ſake of a little money, to part with an old ſervant, and to expel him, as it were, from his country, by turning him out of my houſe, and obliging him to quit his uſual place of abode and manner of life, eſpecially as he would be as uſeleſs to the purchaſer, as he was to me the ſeller.

However, *Cato*'s frugality with reſpect to the public money, was very extraordinary. While he was governor of *Sardinia*, though his predeceſſors uſed to put the public to great expence for tents, for bedding and clothes, for a numerous retinue of friends and domeſticks, and for plays and entertain-

ments, he appeared with the utmoſt plainneſs, and on his viſiting the cities under his government, went on foot, attended only by one public officer, who carried his garment, and a veſſel for ſacrificing: but though this pleaſed all under his command, he made them feel his authority, by being inexorable with reſpect to public juſtice, and inflexibly rigid in the execution of all his orders; ſo that never before did the *Roman* government appear to that people at once ſo terrible and ſo amiable.

His ſtile reſembled his conduct and behaviour; it was facetious and familiar, and yet grave, nervous, and ſententious. And as *Plato*, ſpeaking of *Socrates*, ſays, "That to "ſtrangers he appeared an ignorant rude "buffoon; but within was full of virtue, "and ſpoke ſuch pathetic and divine things "as would move the very ſoul, and force "tears from the eyes of the hearers;" the ſame may be ſaid of *Cato*: he uſed to ſay, *That he had rather do well, and not be rewarded, than do ill, and not be puniſhed; and that he could pardon the faults of other men, but never forgive his own.* Being deſired by *Scipio* to favour thoſe who had been baniſhed out of *Achæa*; when the affair came before the ſenate, great debates aroſe, ſome ſpeaking for the return of the exiles, while it was oppoſed by others: but *Cato* riſing up, ſaid, *We triſle here a whole day, as if we had nothing elſe to do but to debate, whether a number of old Grecians ſhall be interred by our grave-diggers, or by*

by their own. He frequently ſaid, *That he never repented but of three things, that he had truſted a ſecret to a woman; that he had gone by water when he might have gone by land; and that he had ſpent a day without doing any thing:* and to a debauched old man he ſaid, *Friend, old age has deformities enough of its own; do not therefore add to it the deformities of vice.*

On his being choſen conſul with his friend *Valerius Flaccus*, the government of *Spain Citerior* fell to his lot; where, after having ſubdued ſome of thoſe nations by force of arms, and won over others by kindneſs, he was ſuddenly encompaſſed by an army of Barbarians, and in danger of being driven out of his new ſettlements; upon which he immediately ſent to deſire the aſſiſtance of his neighbours the *Celtiberians:* but they inſiſting on being paid 200 talents as a reward for their ſervice, his officers exclaimed, that it was intolerable that the *Romans* ſhould be obliged to purchaſe the aſſiſtance of Barbarians. *Cato* anſwered, *This agreement is not ſo bad as you imagine; for, if we conquer, we will pay them at the enemy's expence, and, if we are conquered, there will be no body either to pay or to make the demand.* He however obtained the victory, and afterwards every thing ſucceeded according to his wiſhes. *Polybius* obſerves, that the walls of all the cities of *Spain* on this ſide the *Bætis*, were, by his order, demoliſhed in one day, though they were very numerous; and *Cato* himſelf ſays, that he took more cities than he ſpent days in his expe-

expedition: this indeed was true; for their number amounted to 400.

Though his troops took in this war a prodigious booty, he beſides gave to every ſoldier a pound of ſilver, obſerving, *It was better that all ſhould return home with a little ſilver, than only a few with a great deal of gold.* He himſelf aſſures us, that during the whole war, nothing came to his ſhare, but what he eat and drank. *Not*, ſaid he, *that I blame thoſe who make an advantage of theſe opportunities; but I had rather contend with the beſt men for valour, than with the richeſt for wealth.*

While *Cato* was employed in ſettling the affairs of *Spain*, *Scipio* being deſirous of the honour of finiſhing the war, prevailed ſo far by his intereſt, as to be choſen to ſucceed him in that government, and then made all poſſible haſte to take the command of the army from *Cato*; who hearing of his march, went to meet him with 500 horſe, and five companies of foot, and by the way defeated the *Lacetanians*, and taking among the priſoners 600 *Roman* deſerters, had the cruelty to cauſe them all to be put to death. Mean while the ſenate decreeing that nothing eſtabliſhed by *Cato* ſhould be altered, the poſt *Scipio* had obtained rather leſſened his glory than *Cato*'s, the time of his government being ſpent in profound peace.

Cato ſoon after attended the conſul *Tiberius Sempronius* in his expeditions into *Thrace*, and to

to the *Danube*, as his lieutenant; and afterwards he ſerved as a tribune under the conſul *Manlius Acilius Glabrio*, who was ſent into *Greece* againſt *Antiochus*, who ſeemed, next to *Hannibal*, the moſt formidable enemy of the *Romans*; for, after he had taken from *Seleucus Nicanor* all his provinces in *Aſia*, and conquered ſeveral barbarous but warlike nations, he turned his victorious arms againſt the *Romans*, under the ſpecious pretence of delivering the *Grecians*, though they were already reſtored to liberty by the *Romans*, who had freed them from the *Macedonian* yoke.

The *Grecians*, corrupted by the great hopes given them by their orators, whom *Antiochus* had gained over to his intereſt, were unreſolved how to act; but *Acilius* ſending ambaſſadors to them, confirmed them in their duty; *Titus Flaminius* alſo eaſily baffled the attempts of thoſe orators, and *Cato* had equal ſucceſs with the people of *Corinth*, *Ægium*, and *Patræ*; he likewiſe ſtaid a long time at *Athens*.

Mean while *Antiochus*, having taken poſſeſſion of the Streights of *Thermopylæ*, and added to the natural ſtrength of the place both walls and entrenchments, thought himſelf ſecure from being attacked by the *Romans*, while they deſpaired of being ever able to force thoſe paſſes. But *Cato* recollecting, that the *Perſians*, by taking a circuit, had formerly attacked the *Grecks*, began to march by night with part of the army. While they were endeavouring to reach the ſummit of a moun-

mountain, the guide, who was a priſoner, loſt his way, and wandering among impaſſable places and precipices, filled the ſoldiers with the utmoſt dread and terror. When *Cato* perceiving their danger, ordered the reſt of the army to halt, and taking with him *Lucius Manlius*, who was extremely expert in climbing the ſteepeſt mountains, he with great pains and danger, marched forwards in a very dark night, clambering among wild olive trees, up ſteep and craggy rocks, that ſtopped their view, and prevented their ſeeing before them. At length, after inconceivable pains, they found a ſmall path, that ſeemed to lead to the foot of the mountain, where the enemy were encamped. Upon this they ſet up marks on ſome of the moſt conſpicuous rocks, and returning back, brought the army by the direction of the marks they had left to the path, where they halted, and made a proper diſpoſition of the troops. But on their advancing a little farther, they had the mortification to find, that the path ſuddenly failed them, and they perceived before them a ſteep precipice, which again reduced them to deſpair: but ſoon the day beginning to appear one of them thought he heard a noiſe, and a little after perceived the *Grecian* camp, and their advanced guard at the foot of the rock. *Cato* therefore halting, gave orders that the *Firmians* ſhould come to him: theſe troops had, on ſeveral hazardous occaſions, given him ſignal proofs of their courage and fidelity; and now encompaſſing him, he

he told them, that he wanted to take one of the enemy alive; on which they inſtantly ruſh'd down the mountain, and attacking unexpectedly the advanced guard, threw them into diſorder, diſperſed them, and taking one priſoner, brought him to *Cato*; who learning from the priſoner, that the main body of the army was encamped with the king in the narrow paſſes; and that the detachment that guarded the eminences amounted to 600 ſelect *Ætolians*, drew his ſword, and marched againſt them with loud ſhouts and the ſound of trumpets. When the *Ætolians* perceiving them pouring down from the mountains, fled precipitately to their main guard. At the ſame time *Manlius*, with the body of the army, forced *Antiochus*'s intrenchments below; and, in this attack *Antiochus* being wounded in the mouth by a ſtone which beat out his teeth, the pain he felt obliged him to retire; and, as after his retreat, no part of his army dared to ſtand the ſhock of the *Romans*, they were entirely routed; when notwithſtanding they had no hopes of eſcaping, on account of the narrowneſs of the road, and the deep marſhes and rocky precipices with which it was ſurrounded, they threw themſelves in crowds into thoſe paſſes, and deſtroyed each other, from the fear of being deſtroyed by the *Romans*,

As *Cato* thought that a man had a right to boaſt of the great actions he had performed, he extols this laſt exploit in very pompous terms, and ſays, "That thoſe who ſaw him

"ruſh

" ruſh on the enemy, rout and purſue them,
" acknowledged that *Cato* owed leſs to the
" people of *Rome*, than the people of *Rome*
" to *Cato*; and that *Manlius* the conſul him-
" ſelf returning hot from the fight, took him
" in his arms as he came panting and ſweat-
" ing from the battle, and embracing him a
" long time, cried in a tranſport of joy, that
" neither he, nor all the people of *Rome*,
" could ever fully reward his ſervices."

Cato being now ſent by the conſul to carry the news of his exploits to *Rome*, proceeded thither with the utmoſt expedition, and being the firſt that brought the news of this great victory, filled the city with joy and ſacrifices; the people now imagining that they were able to ſubdue the whole earth.

Theſe are the moſt extraordinary military actions performed by *Cato*. With reſpect to his conduct in civil affairs, he ſeems to have been perſuaded, that the zeal of an honeſt man could not be better exerted, than in the proſecution of offenders; for he not only proſecuted ſeveral, but aſſiſted others in carrying on proſecutions. He induced *Petilicus* to accuſe the great *Scipio*, who being a perſon of high birth, and great magnanimity, treated their accuſations with the utmoſt contempt: when *Cato* finding that he could not be capitally convicted, deſiſted from the proſecution, and joining with other accuſers, attacked his brother *Lucius Scipio*, who being ſentenced to pay a great fine, was in danger of being thrown into priſon; but by appeal-

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ing to the tribunes, he was with great difficulty diſmiſſed. Thus it is ſaid, that a young man, having cauſed the enemy of his deceaſed father to be condemned, and croſſing the market-place on the day when ſentence was paſſed, *Cato* met him, and taking him by the hand, ſaid, "Theſe are the "offerings we ſhould make to the Manes of "our deceaſed anceſtors, to whom we ſhould "ſacrifice, not the blood of goats and of "lambs, but the condemnation and tears of "their enemies."

He himſelf however did not eſcape; for in return, when ever his enemies could get the leaſt hold of him, he was called to an account, ſo that there are ſaid to have been near fifty accuſations brought againſt him; the laſt of which happening when he was eighty ſix years of age, he complained, *That it was very hard he ſhould be brought to juſtify to men of one generation, the actions he had performed in another.*

Ten years after he had enjoyed the office of conſul, he ſtood for the poſt of Cenſor, which was the completion of all the dignities to which a *Roman* citizen could aſpire. For the *Romans*, being convinced, that the diſpoſitions of mankind are better diſcerned in the private affairs of life, than by actions of a public and political nature, choſe two magiſtrates to be guardians, correctors, or reformers of manners, to prevent men's quitting the paths of virtue, for thoſe of licentiouſneſs and pleaſure, and changing the

ancient and eſtabliſhed cuſtoms. One of theſe was choſen out of the patricians, and the other from among the people. They might deprive a *Roman* knight of his horſe, and expel from the ſenate any ſenator who lived a licentious and diſorderly life. They likewiſe took an eſtimate of every citizen's eſtate, and kept an account of the ſeveral families, qualities, and conditions of people in the commonwealth.

As this office had ſeveral great prerogatives annexed to it, when *Cato* became a candidate for it, he was oppoſed by many conſiderable perſons in the ſenate; ſome imagining, that it would be a diſgrace to their nobility to ſuffer men of obſcure birth to riſe to the higheſt power and honour, and others, conſcious of their own corrupt manners, oppoſed him, from their dread of his inexorable ſeverity; they therefore ſet up ſeven candidates in oppoſition to him, who ſoothed the people with fair hopes and promiſes; while *Cato*, on the contrary, was far from uſing the leaſt flattery; but threatening, from the chair in which he ſat, all wicked men to their face, cried aloud, that the city wanted great reformation; conjured the people to chuſe, not the mildeſt, but the ſevereſt phyſicians; and told them, that he himſelf was one of that character, and among the patricians *Valerius Flaccus* was another. On which the *Roman* people, ſo far from dreading his ſeverity and rigour, rejected all the ſmooth flatterers who appeared

appeared diſpoſed to render their authority eaſy and popular, and unanimouſly choſe *Cato* and *Valerius Flaccus*.

Cato began with naming *Lucius Valerius Flaccus* chief of the ſenate, and with removing ſeveral perſons, particularly *Lucius Quintius*, who had been conſul ſeven years before, and *Manlius* another ſenator, who ſtood fair for the conſulſhip, was removed merely for giving his wife a kiſs in open day, and in the preſence of his daughter; *Cato* ſaying, that his wife never embraced him but in loud claps of thunder; and that he was happy when *Jupiter* thundered.

He was greatly cenſured for his uſage of *Lucius*, the brother of the great *Scipio*; for, notwithſtanding his being honoured with a triumph for his victory over king *Philip*, he took his horſe from him, at a review of the *Roman* knights; merely, as it was thought, to inſult the memory of *Scipio Africanus*. But nothing created ſo general a diſguſt, as his endeavouring to reform the prevailing luxury, by ordering all the apparel, vehicles, women's ornaments, furniture, and houſhold goods to be appraiſed, and all that exceeded 1500 drachmas to be valued at ten times its worth. According to this valuation, he cauſed a tax of three aſſes to be paid for the value of every thouſand aſſes, in order that they who found themſelves heavily preſſed, might be induced to lay aſide their ſuperfluities. Thus, he not only rendered thoſe his enemies who choſe to pay the tax

rather than abandon their ſuperfluities, but thoſe who gave them up to avoid the tax. For people generally think, that being forbidden to ſhew their riches, is the ſame as taking them away; and that wealth is better ſeen in the ſuperfluities, than the neceſſaries of life.

However, all the complaints and outcries made againſt *Cato*, had no other effect upon him, but to render him more rigid and ſevere. He demoliſhed all ſuch buildings as projected into the ſtreets; ordered all the pipes by which private perſons cauſed water to be conveyed from the public fountains to their houſes and gardens, to be cut off; beat down the price of public works, and farmed out the public revenues at an exceſſive price: by which he procured the hatred of great numbers of people. Hence *Titus Flaminius*, and thoſe of his party, cauſed the contracts he had made for repairing the temples and public buildings to be made void, and incited the tribunes to accuſe him to the people, and fine him two talents. They alſo oppoſed his erecting a hall at the public expence, which he however finiſhed, and gave it the name of the *Porcian Hall*. It however appears, that his conduct was highly approved by the people, ſince they raiſed a ſtatue to him in the temple of *Health*, and the inſcription on the baſe, inſtead of mentioning his battles, victories, and triumph, was as follows: "To the ho-
"nour of *Cato* the Cenſor, who, by good
"diſcipline, reclaimed the *Roman* common-
"wealth, when it was brought into danger,
"and

" and a declining ſtate, by the public licen-
" tiouſneſs."

He was both a good father and a good huſband; for he was far from thinking, that his family deſerved only a ſlight and ſuperficial attention. He often ſaid, that thoſe who beat their wives or children laid violent hands on what was moſt ſacred, and that he preferred the commendation of being an affectionate huſband, before that of being a great ſenator. Whenever his wife was brought to bed, no buſineſs of a private nature could prevent his being preſent while ſhe waſhed and ſwathed the child. His ſon was no ſooner capable of inſtruction, than *Cato* himſelf became his inſtructor; for though *Chilo*, his ſlave, was not only an honeſt man, and a good grammarian, and had been employed in educating other children, he could not bear that his ſon ſhould owe ſo great an obligation as his education to a ſlave. He himſelf was therefore his preceptor in grammar, law, and the gymnaſtic art; and taught him not only to ride, to throw the dart, and the uſe of the other military weapons; but even to box, to ſwim acroſs a rapid river, and to endure heat and cold. He himſelf obſerves, that he wrote hiſtories for him in large characters, with his own hand; that without quitting his father's houſe, he might be acquainted with the exploits and the laws of his anceſtors; and he as carefully avoided all obſcene diſcourſe before him, as if he had been in the preſence of the veſtal virgins.

Thus *Cato* early trained up his ſon to virtue. He indeed found that he had an amiable diſpoſition, and was fond of learning; but his body being too weak to undergo hard labour, his father was obliged to remit ſomewhat of the ſeverity of his diſcipline. The weakneſs of his conſtitution did not, however, prevent his being a good ſoldier; for he particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the battle fought by *Paulus Æmilius* againſt *Perſeus*, where his ſword being ſtruck out of his hand, he, by the aſſiſtance of his friends, cleared the place, and recovered it again *. This action was highly applauded by the general; and there is ſtill extant a letter written by *Cato* to his ſon, wherein he commends his concern at loſing his ſword, and the bravery with which he recovered it.

While *Cato* was poor, he thought nothing more ſhameful than to quarrel with his ſlaves on the account of his belly; but, when his circumſtances were mended, and he gave frequent entertainments to his friends, he, after the repaſt, always corrected with leathern thongs, thoſe who had neglected to give due attendance, or had ſuffered any of the proviſions to be ſpoiled. He alſo contrived means to ſet them at variance; for their having a good underſtanding among them, filled him with fear and ſuſpicion; and, when any of them committed a crime worthy of death, he, on their being found

* See a more particular account of this event in the life of *Paulus Æmilius*, in vol. ii. p. 207.

guilty

guilty by their fellow-ſervants, puniſhed them accordingly. His thirſt for riches encreaſing, he abandoned agriculture, for more lucrative employments, and purchaſed ponds, hot ſprings, paſtures, and wood-lands; by which means he acquired a great revenue. He was guilty alſo of a very extraordinary kind of uſury: he obliged thoſe to whom he lent money on intereſt, to form themſelves into a company, for inſtance, of fifty merchants, and to fit out fifty ſhips, wherein he had one ſhare, which was taken care of by one of his freedmen, who ſailed with them as his factor. He alſo lent money on uſury to ſuch of his ſlaves as had a mind to engage in trade; and, to incline his ſon to follow his example, he uſed to ſay, That he was worthy of immortal glory, who could ſhew by his accounts, that what he had added to his eſtate, exceeded what he had received from his anceſtors.

Cato was far advanced in years, when two ambaſſadors arrived at *Rome* from *Athens*, *Carneades* the academic, and *Diogenes* the ſtoic. Theſe philoſophers were admired by the youth moſt diſtinguiſhed for their learning, who heard them with inexpreſſible pleaſure, and were particularly charmed with the graces and force of *Canneades*'s oratory: the greateſt and moſt polite people in *Rome* were ſoon his auditors; and his fame, like a mighty wind, ruſhing thro' the city, it was every where ſaid, that a *Greek* was arrived, who, by his eloquence, calmed the moſt turbulent paſſions, and inſpired the *Roman* youth with ſuch a love

of

of wiſdom, that renouncing buſineſs and diverſions, they with an enthuſiaſtic ardour applied themſelves to the ſtudy of philoſophy. Even the old men were highly pleaſed, and were filled with the utmoſt delight at ſeeing their youth thus eagerly receive the *Grecian* literature, and frequent the company of theſe extraordinary men. Their firſt diſcourſes were tranſlated into Latin by *Caius Acilius*, one of the chief of the ſenate, and univerſally ſpread abroad. *Cato*, however, was highly diſpleaſed, from his apprehenſions leſt the youth ſhould prefer the glory of ſpeaking to that of diſtinguiſhing themſelves in arms; and therefore going to the ſenate, blamed the magiſtrates for detaining ſo long, ambaſſadors who could perſuade the people to agree to whatever they pleaſed. "You "ought, ſaid he, ſpeedily to determine their "affair, that they may return to their ſchools, "and inſtruct the *Grecian* children, that the "*Roman* youth may be left to attend their "own laws and magiſtrates, as they did be"fore their arrival." This was not ſpoken out of any particular enmity to *Carneades*, but from *Cato*'s being an enemy to philoſophy, and his taking a pride in ſhewing that he deſpiſed the *Grecian* muſes, and all foreign erudition; for he uſed to call even *Socrates* himſelf *a prating ſeditious fellow, who had endeavoured all in his power, to tyrannize over his country, by abrogating ancient cuſtoms, and leading his fellow citizens into new opinions, contrary to the laws.* And to diſſuade his ſon from applying to any of the *Grecian* ſciences, he

he cried with a loud voice, as if filled with a prophetic ſpirit, *that the* Romans *would be deſtroyed when once they became infected with* Greek. Time has however ſufficiently ſhewn the folly of this wayward prediction; for when the *Grecian* literature flouriſhed at *Rome*, and all kind of learning was eſteemed, that city was at the higheſt pitch of glory and power.

Nor was *Cato* leſs an enemy to the *Grecian* phyſicians than to their philoſophers: for hearing that the king of *Perſia* ſent for *Hippocrates*, and offered him a reward of many talents; and that he anſwered, "I will never "make uſe of my ſkill in favour of Barba-"rians, who are enemies to the *Greeks*;" he aſſerted, that this was an oath taken by all phyſicians, and enjoined his ſon never to truſt himſelf in their hands; adding, that he himſelf had written a ſmall treatiſe, in which were ſeveral preſcriptions, which he had uſed with good ſucceſs when any of his family were ſick, maintaining, that by the aſſiſtance of theſe remedies, with his regimen, he preſerved himſelf, and all that belonged to him, in perfect health.

After the death of his wife, his ſon married the daughter of *Paulus Æmilius*; but he himſelf continued a widower, yet notwithſtanding his being much advanced in years, he was far from obſerving the rules of continence; for he had an intrigue with a young ſlave. One day, as ſhe was paſſing with a haughty air to *Cato*'s bed-chamber, his ſon, without ſpeaking to her, gave her an angry look, and turned

turned from her with an air of indignation. This coming to the knowledge of the old man, he, on finding that his commerce with the ſlave was far from being agreeable either to his ſon, or his daughter-in-law, took no notice of what had paſſed; but the next morning early when he was going with his uſual company to the Forum, he called aloud to one *Salonius*, who had been his ſecretary, aſking him if his daughter was yet married. *Salonius* anſwered, That ſhe was not, and never ſhould, without his conſent. Why then, I have found out a fit huſband for her, replied *Cato*, provided ſhe can bear with the inequality of age: he is in every other reſpect unexceptionable, but he is very old. The other then returned, that he left the diſpoſal of her entirely to him; and *Cato*, without any farther ceremony cried, I will be thy ſon-in-law. *Salonius* was extremely ſuprized, and thinking himſelf much too mean, to have the leaſt hopes of entering into an alliance with a perſon of conſular dignity, no ſooner found that *Cato* was in earneſt, than he embraced the offer with great joy and thankfulneſs; and the marriage contract was ſigned as ſoon as they came to the Forum. While preparations were making for the nuptials, *Cato*'s ſon, attended by ſome of his friends and relations, went to his father, and aſked him, What offence he had committed to induce him to give him a mother-in-law? On which *Cato* immediately replied, "There is "no offence, my ſon; in all thy behaviour "I find no cauſe of complaint. I am only "deſirous

" deſirous of having more ſuch ſons, and of " leaving my country more ſuch citizens."

Cato had indeed a ſon by this ſecond wife, whom he called *Salonius* from his mother's father. But his eldeſt ſon died in his prætorſhip. His father frequently mentions him in his works, as a perſon of extraordinary merit; yet he bore his loſs with a philoſophic temper, without ſuffering it to interrupt him in his application to affairs of ſtate.

His cauſing the deſtruction of *Carthage* was the laſt affair of a public nature in which he engaged. *Maſſiniſſa*, king of *Numidia*, being at war with the *Carthaginians*, *Cato* was ſent into *Africa* to learn the cauſe of their quarrel. *Maſſiniſſa* had been long the friend and ally of the *Romans*, and the *Carthaginians* had alſo been in alliance with them, ever ſince the great victory obtained by the elder *Scipio*, who ſtripped them of a conſiderable part of their dominions, and obliged them to pay a heavy tribute. *Cato*, on his arrival at *Carthage*, finding that city not in a low and declining condition, as the *Romans* imagined; but full of men capable of bearing arms, furniſhed with warlike ſtores, and abounding in wealth, returned haſtily to *Rome*, where he told the ſenate, that all the misfortunes of the *Carthaginians* had rather cured them of their folly, than drained them of their forces; that the *Romans*, in their wars with them, inſtead of weakening, had rendered them more warlike and experienced; that their battles

battles with the *Numidians* were only exercises by which they were trained up, that they might one day be able to cope with the *Romans*; that the late peace was a mere name, and nothing more than a suspension of arms; and that they only waited for a favourable opportunity to renew the war. At the conclusion of this speech, it is said, that he shook his gown, and purposely dropping some figs he had brought from *Africa*, they were taken up, and being admired for their beauty and largeness, he said, that the country where that fruit grew, was but three days sail from *Rome*. But his enmity to *Carthage* is more evidently shewn, in his never giving his opinion in the senate on any other subject, without concluding with the words, "It is my opinion that *Carthage* should be "destroyed *."

How-

* *Cato* the Censor is far from being an amiable character; but no action of his life, in the eye of reason and humanity, appears so inconsistent with every sentiment of justice and benevolence, as this conduct with respect to the *Carthaginians*. How poor was the artifice of dropping these figs, as a bait to the luxurious! How mean the fear, that made him dread a nation humbled by the calamities of war, lest in some future time they should again become formidable! And how unjust and cruel were his incessant endeavours, in the midst of peace, to unsheath

However, no ſooner was this third Punic war begun, which proved ſo fatal to *Carthage*, and which *Cato* had taken ſuch pains to kindle, than he died, leaving behind him ſeveral hiſtories, and other works on various ſubjects, particularly a book on country affairs; in which he treats of making cakes, and preſerving fruit. He left one ſon by his ſecond wife, who, as hath been already ſaid, was called *Salonius*, and a grandſon by the ſon of his firſt wife, who died before him. *Cato Salonius* dying during the time of his prætorſhip, left a ſon called *Marcus*, who was the father of *Cato* the philoſopher, the greateſt and beſt man of the age in which he lived.

Having related the moſt remarkable actions of *Ariſtides* and *Cato*, we find, upon carefully examining them, that they both advanced themſelves by their virtue and abilities. It is true, *Ariſtides* appeared when *Athens* had not ariſen to its utmoſt ſplendor, and when its chief magiſtrates were poſſeſſed of only moderate fortunes. But *Cato*, from a petty village, and a country life, launched into the commonwealth, at a time when the greatneſs of family, diſtributions among the people, and courting their favour with the utmoſt ſervility, were alone regarded; for the

unſheath the ſword, in order to extirpate a people only becauſe it might be done with ſafety!

Romans, being elated with the ſtrength and ſtability of the commonwealth, took delight in humbling thoſe who were candidates for any preferment.

With reſpect to their military glory, *Ariſtides* was never commander in chief in any action; for *Miltiades* obtained the victory at *Marathon*; *Themiſtocles* at *Salamis*; and *Pauſanias* at *Platææ*. While *Cato* obtained the chief praiſe for his conduct and courage, not only in the *Spaniſh* war, in which he commanded as conſul; but at *Thermopylæ*, when he had only the poſt of tribune, he acquired the glory of the victory, by opening a way for the *Romans* to ruſh in upon *Antiochus*, and attack his troops in the rear: for that victory was indiſputably *Cato*'s work. Yet *Cato* added but little to the *Roman* empire, which was then very extenſive; but the warlike expeditions, in which *Ariſtides* was engaged, are the nobleſt and moſt important actions the *Greeks* ever performed. The demolition of the walls of the *Spaniſh* towns, and the defeat of *Antiochus*, cannot be compared with the deſtruction of ſo many thouſand *Perſians* both by ſea and land in the war with *Xerxes*. In all theſe noble exploits, *Ariſtides* was inferior to none in valour; but he left the glory and the laurels, as well as the wealth and money, to thoſe who deſired them more: for he was above them. *Cato* was perpetually boaſting, and preferring himſelf to all others, though in one of his orations he acknowledges, that it is equally abſurd either to

praiſe

praiſe or diſpraiſe one's ſelf. Modeſty indeed greatly contributes to that mildneſs of temper which ſo well becomes a ſtateſman, but the pride and ambition of *Cato* rendered his temper harſh and moroſe. *Ariſtides* by generouſly aſſiſting *Themiſtocles*, his enemy, and acting as an officer under him, had the glory of contributing to reſtore the city of *Athens*; while *Cato*, by oppoſing *Scipio*, almoſt defeated his expedition againſt the *Carthaginians*, and at laſt, by continually calumniating him, made him retire from *Rome*. With reſpect to the moſt amiable virtues, juſtice, temperance, and humanity, *Ariſtides* had the advantage; but he carried his diſintereſtedneſs too far; for juſtice does not require that a man ſhould be uſeful to others, and pay no regard to the intereſt of himſelf and his family. The temperance and frugality of both were commendable; but to what purpoſe did *Cato* hoard up wealth which he did not dare to uſe? or what motive but the extremeſt avarice could he have to employ ſo many arts of acquiring wealth, while he eſteemed boiled turnips moſt delicious food.

THE

LIFE

OF

PHILOPOEMEN.

CRAUSIS, the father of *Philopœmen*, had a ſincere friendſhip for *Caſſander*, whom he entertained with great ſplendor in his houſe at *Megalopolis*; in return, *Caſſander*, after the death of *Crauſis*, endeavoured to repay the father's hoſpitable kindneſs, by the care he took in the education of *Philipœmen*, his orphan ſon, whom he cauſed to be trained up to the precepts of philoſophy.

Philipœmen had an inſatiable ambition, and was ſomewhat rough and choleric. He ſtrove to reſemble *Epaminondas*, and was not much inferior to him in valour, conduct, and incorruptible integrity: he had even from his

his childhood a ſtrong propenſity to war, and applied himſelf to ſuch arts as had a relation to it, as horſemanſhip, and the management of his weapons. When he began to bear arms in the incurſions which his fellow-citizens uſed to make againſt the *Spartans* for the ſake of pillage, he would always march out the firſt, and return the laſt. At his leiſure time he endeavoured to add to his ſtrength and activity by hunting, and labouring in his grounds, he having a good eſtate about twenty furlongs from the town. At break of day he uſually went to work, either in his vineyard, or at the plough, from which he returned to the town, and employed his time in public buſineſs, with his friends, or the magiſtrates; he returned to his farm every day after dinner and ſupper, and at night threw himſelf on the firſt mattraſs, where he ſlept till morning. He alſo ſpent much of his time in hearing the diſcourſes, and ſtudying the writings of philoſophers, and of ſuch authors as treated on the art of war, and the manner of drawing up an army in order of battle. He was indeed too much addicted to war, and had a contempt for all who were not ſoldiers; but he endeavoured to improve his eſtate, that he might be free from all temptation of wronging others.

When he was thirty years of age, *Cleomenes*, king of *Sparta*, ſurpriſed *Megalopolis* by night. *Philopœmen* ran to aſſiſt his fellow-citizens; but tho' he was unable to drive the enemy

out of the town, he made head againſt them, and gave the citizens time to eſcape. His horſe was killed under him; and having received ſeveral wounds, he himſelf eſcaped with difficulty, and was the laſt man in the retreat. They all retired to *Meſſene*, where *Cleomenes* ſent to let them know, that he would reſtore their town, their goods, and their territory. They were pleaſed with the offer, and eager to return; but *Philopœmen* prevented them by repreſenting, that what he called reſtoring the city, was taking the citizens, in order to keep the place with the greater ſecurity; but that he would not ſtay long to guard empty houſes. *Cleomenes*, however, deſtroyed great part of the city, and carried away much booty.

King *Antigonus* coming ſome time after to ſuccour the *Achæans*, they united their forces, and marched againſt *Cleomenes*, who had ſeized the avenues, and was advantageouſly poſted on the hills of *Sellaſia*. *Antigonus* drew up his army, in order to force him from his poſt. *Philopœmen*, with his citizens, was placed among the horſe, ſupported by the *Illyrian* foot, who cloſed one of the wings. They were ordered to keep their ground, and not to engage, till they ſaw a red robe lifted up on the point of a ſpear, in the other wing, where the king fought in perſon. Theſe orders were obeyed by the *Achæans*; but the *Illyrian* infantry fell briſkly upon the enemy, and *Euclidas*, the brother of *Cleomenes*, obſerving the foot thus ſeparated from the horſe, ordered a body of light armed troops to wheel about,

about, and charge the *Illyrians* behind. This threw them into confuſion: when *Philopœmen*, conſidering that the light armed troops might be eaſily diſperſed, went to the king's officers to propoſe the performance of it; but looking on him as a raſh inconſiderate young man, they paid no regard to his advice. He therefore attacked thoſe troops with his own citizens, and ſoon put them to flight, with a great ſlaughter. Then to encourage the army to make a general attack, while the enemy were in confuſion, he diſmounted; but while he was thus fighting, in his heavy horſeman's armour, on rough uneven ground, full of ſprings, both his thighs were ſtruck through with a javelin, ſo that the point came out on the other ſide. He ſtood as if he had been ſhackled, and was unable to move; for the thong in the middle of the weapon rendered it difficult to be drawn out. But the battle being now at the hotteſt, his impatience to be engaged, enabled him to make ſuch efforts to move his legs, that he at laſt broke the ſtaff, and ordering the pieces to be pulled out, ran with his ſword through the midſt of thoſe who were fighting in the firſt ranks, animating the men, and firing them with emulation.

This action brought *Philopœmen* into great reputation, and *Antigonus* offered him very advantageous conditions to engage him to enter into his ſervice. But *Philopœmen* hearing there was a war in *Crete*, went thither, and having ſpent a conſiderable time in that iſland,

iſland, with men diſtinguiſhed for their bravery, and military knowledge, returned with ſuch fame, that the *Achæans* immediately choſe him general of the horſe. Their cavalry had at that time neither experience nor courage; they rode on little horſes, the cheapeſt they could procure, and when the men were to march, they commonly hired others to ſerve in their ſtead, while they ſtaid at home. *Philopœmen* endeavoured to inſpire all the young men with martial ardour: he continually reviewed and exerciſed them, and by making them frequently engage in mock ſkirmiſhes, rendered them ſtrong and bold, active and vigorous. By uſe they acquired ſuch command of their horſes, and obtained ſuch readineſs in their various evolutions, whether performed ſeparately or together, that the whole number reſembled a ſingle body actuated by an internal principle. In a great battle which the *Achæans* fought with the *Eleans* and *Ætolians*, near the river *Lariſſus*, *Damophantus*, general of the *Elean* horſe, ſingled out *Philopœmen*, and rode up to him full ſpeed; but *Philopœmen* prevented the blow, by ſtriking him dead with his ſpear; and from thence forward was univerſally celebrated as one who in perſonal valour yielded not to the youngeſt, nor to the oldeſt in good conduct, and all the qualities of a general.

The *Achæans* formerly uſed light, thin, and narrow bucklers, and ſhort javelins; but he introduced a larger buckler, and the long

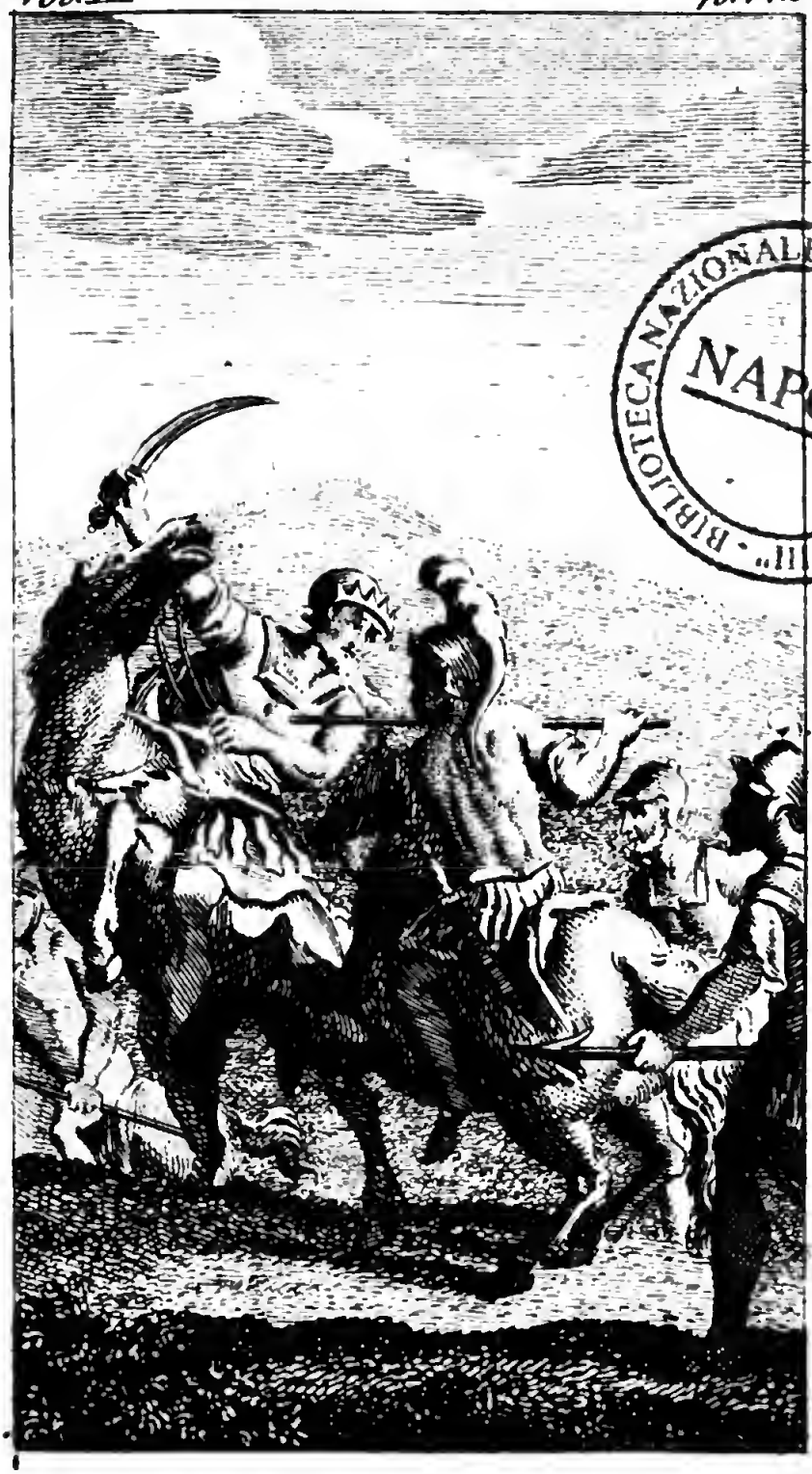
long pike, and perſuaded them to arm their heads, bodies, thighs, and legs; and inſtead of looſe ſkirmiſhing, to fight firmly foot to foot. Having thus brought them all to wear armour, he turned their fondneſs for dreſs and idle expence, to the deſire of making a fine appearance in their warlike equipage. Nothing then was to be ſeen in the ſhops but artificers employed in making breaſt-plates, bucklers, and bridles adorned with gold and ſilver; nothing in the places of exerciſes, but young men riding and exerciſing their arms; while the women were frequently ſeen embroidering military veſts for both the cavalry and infantry. Mean while the ſight of their rich armour raiſed their ſpirits, and quickened their courage: they wore it with pleaſure, and by conſtant uſe it became light and eaſy, and they longed for nothing more than to try it with an enemy.

At that time the *Achæans* were at war with *Machanidas*, tyrant of *Sparta*, who watched all opportunities of rendering himſelf maſter of all *Peloponneſus*. On his attacking the *Mantineans*, *Philopœmen* marched againſt him. They met near *Mantinea*, and drew up in ſight of that city, having not only the whole ſtrength of their ſeveral cities, but a conſiderable number of mercenaries. At the beginning of the battle, *Machanidas*, with his hired troops, broke thro' the ſpearmen and *Tarentines* placed by *Philopœmen* in the front to cover the *Achæans*; and having put

put them to flight, followed the chace without attacking the *Achæan* army, which ſtood firm. At this unfortunate beginning, the reſt of the confederates gave themſelves over for loſt; but *Philopœmen* ſeemed to ſlight it as of ſmall conſequence, and ſuffered *Machanidas* to purſue the fugitives till he was at a great diſtance, and then ſuddenly charged the *Lacedæmonians*, who were deſerted by their horſe, and without a commander. Thus *Philopœmen* overthrew them with a great ſlaughter, above 4000 being ſaid to be killed on the ſpot. He then faced about againſt *Mechanidas*, who was returning with his mercenaries from the purſuit. There happened to be a broad ditch between them, into which *Machanidas*'s horſe, feeling the ſpur, ventured to leap: but as he was mounting the other ſide, *Philopœmen* rode up, and ſtriking *Machanidas* with all his force, tumbled him dead into the ditch. The *Achæans* were ſo pleaſed with this victory, and the ſucceſs of this ſingle combat, that they erected a brazen ſtatue to *Philopœmen* at *Delphi*, in the poſture in which he killed the tyrant.

A little after this victory, *Philopœmen* being at the *Nemean* games, ſhewed his army drawn up in order of battle with all their exerciſes and evolutions, after which he entered the theatre, while the muſicians were ſinging for the prize, attended by a number of his ſoldiers dreſſed in their military veſts, and ſcarlet tunics. At their coming in, one

Pylades



BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE "VITTORIO EMANUELE III" NAPOLI

PHILOPÆMEN kills MACHANIDAS Tyrant of Sparta.

Pylades was accidentally ſinging this verſe out of the *Perſæ* of *Timotheus*.

Glory and freedom Greece *from me receives.*

The whole theatre caſt their eyes on *Philopœmen*, and clapped their hands, being tranſported with the hopes of recovering their former glory.

Philip, king of *Macedon*, imagining that *Philopœmen* would be the only obſtacle to his bringing the *Achæans* into ſubjection, privately ſent ſome perſons to *Argos* to aſſaſſinate him; but this baſe deſign being diſcovered, it only ſerved to render him infamous, and the object of the hatred of all *Greece*. When the *Bœotians* were beſieging *Megara*, and were ready to ſtorm the town, on a groundleſs rumour, that *Philopœmen* was coming with ſuccours, they fled, leaving their ſcaling-ladders faſtened to the walls, *Nabis*, who, after the death of *Machanidas*, became tyrant of *Sparta* had ſurpriſed *Meſſene* at a time when *Philopœmen* was out of command, and that great man endeavoured to perſuade *Lyſippus*, the *Achæan* general, to ſuccour *Meſſene*; but the place being taken, he conſidered it as entirely loſt. On this *Philopœmen* reſolved to go without any commiſſion, only followed by his own citizens, who conſidered him as formed for command: and *Nabis* no ſooner heard of his approach, than he ſtole off with his army at the farther gate of the

the city, thinking himself happy in being able to make his escape, and *Philopœmen* entered it without opposition.

He afterwards entered into the service of the *Gortynians* in the isle of *Crete*, where he made war not openly in the field; but fought the *Cretans* at their own weapons, turning their stratagems against themselves, and soon made them sensible that they were only like children using low and trifling arts against a man of wisdom and experience. Having managed the war with great bravery and reputation, he returned to *Peloponnesus*, where *Philip* had been defeated by *Titus Quintius*, and *Nabis* was at war both with the *Romans* and *Achæans*. He was soon chosen general against *Nabis*; but venturing a battle by sea, had the disadvantage, and the enemy elated with their victory, laid siege to *Gythium*. *Philopœmen* no sooner heard of this, than he sailed towards that town, and landing in the night, when they had no suspicion of his approach, killed many of the enemy, and burnt their camp.

As he was marching a few days after thro' some narrow passes, *Nabis* suddenly came upon him. The *Achæans* were struck with fear and consternation, and despaired of ever escaping: but *Philopœmen* making a halt, viewed the ground, and then advancing only a few paces, and changing the position of his troops, according to the nature of the place, removed all apprehensions from his men, and then charging, put the enemy to flight

flight. When ſeeing that they did not fly towards the city, but diſperſed themſelves about the country, which was very woody and uneven, he ſounded a retreat, and encamped by broad day-light; then foreſeeing that the enemy would endeavour in the dark to ſteal ſeparately into the city, he poſted ſtrong parties of the *Achæans* near the walls, and by this means many of them fell into their hands; for *Nabis*'s men returning as the chance of flight had diſperſed them, were caught like birds ere they could enter the place.

The bravery and conduct of *Philopœmen* were now celebrated in all the theatres of *Greece*. *Nabis* being at length ſlain by the *Ætolians*, every thing at *Sparta* was thrown into confuſion, and *Philopœmen* ſeizing this opportunity, advanced thither with his army, and by the united force of perſuaſion and fear, brought the whole city under the ſubjection of the *Achæans*. His behaviour on this occaſion was ſuch, that he gained the eſteem of the *Spartans* themſelves, who hoped that he would be the friend and defender of their liberty: and having raiſed 120 talents by the ſale of *Nabis*'s houſe and effects, they decreed that the money ſhould be preſented to him; but ſo high an opinion had the people of *Philopœmen*'s virtue and diſintereſtedneſs, that none among them cared to mention it to him. At length this commiſſion was intruſted to *Timolaus*, with whom *Philopœmen* had lodged at *Sparta*; and in return he went

to *Megalopolis*, where he was entertained by *Philopœmen*; but being ſtruck with admiration at his frugality and integrity, he judged that he was not to be tempted by money, and therefore pretending other buſineſs, returned without mentioning a word of the preſent. Being ſent again, he acted juſt as before; but the third time he with much difficulty informed *Philopœmen* of the teſtimony the city of *Sparta* had given him of their regard. That great man hearkened to him with pleaſure, and then going with him to *Sparta*, adviſed the people not to bribe their friends, on whoſe virtue they might depend without expence: but to buy off thoſe bad men who were perpetually diſturbing the city with their ſeditious ſpeeches.

The *Achæans* having afterwards made *Diophanes* their general, he reſolved to chaſtiſe the *Spartans*, whom he heard were raiſing new commotions: upon which they, preparing for war, embroiled all *Pelopenneſus*. *Philopœmen* endeavoured to make *Diophanes* ſenſible, that while *Antiochus* and the *Romans* were contending with powerful armies in the heart of *Greece*, he ought to diſſemble and paſs by many injuries to keep all quiet at home. But *Diophanes* joining with *Titus Flaminius*, the *Roman* general, marched directly to *Sparta*, on which *Philopœmen* getting into the town, though a private man, kept out both the *Roman* conſul and the general of *Achæa*, and having appeaſed the diſturbances in the city, again united it to the *Achæans*.

But

But afterwards the *Lacedæmonians* rebelling again while *Philopœmen* himſelf was general, he put to death, according to *Polybius*, eighty, or according to *Ariſtocrates*, 350 citizens, razed the walls, and gave a conſiderable part of their territory to the *Megalopolitans*. He likewiſe carried to *Achæa* all who had been made free of *Sparta* by the tyrants, except 3000, who would not ſubmit to baniſhment, and thoſe he cruelly ſold for ſlaves; and abrogating the laws of *Lycurgus*, forced them to educate their youth after the manner of the *Achæans*. But this reſtraint was of ſhort duration; for by the conſent of the *Romans*, they ſoon forſook the *Achæan* cuſtoms, and as much as poſſible re-eſtabliſhed their ancient diſcipline.

When *Antiochus* was overcome, the *Romans* preſſed harder upon *Greece*, and ſurrounding the *Achæans* with their forces, the leading men in the ſeveral cities went over to their intereſt. Upon this occaſion *Philopœmen* ſometimes yielded to the neceſſity of the times; but generally continued ſteady, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to keep all who were conſiderable either for their wealth or eloquence, firm in the defence of their common liberty. After the defeat of *Antiochus*, *Manius* the *Roman* conſul, endeavoured to perſuade the *Achæans* to ſuffer the baniſhed *Spartans* to return to their country; but this was oppoſed by *Philopœmen*, who was not willing that they ſhould be obliged to the *Romans*: but the

next year, when he himſelf was general, he permitted them to go to *Sparta*.

Philopœmen being now ſeventy years old, and the eighth time general, was in hopes of paſſing the reſt of his days in quiet: but theſe hopes were vain. It is ſaid, that hearing a great commander praiſed, he replied, that there was no great account to be made of a man, who had ſuffered himſelf to be taken alive by his enemies. But how blind is man with reſpect to futurity! A few days after, hearing that *Dinocrates*, a *Meſſenian*, and his particular enemy, had induced the *Meſſenians* to revolt from the *Achæans*, and was about to ſeize a ſmall town called *Colonis*, notwithſtanding his being ill, he haſted to *Megalopolis*, and took from thence a choice body of horſe, compoſed of the chief perſons in the city, who from their affection to him, and their love of glory, deſired to accompany him. They marched towards *Meſſene*, and meeting with *Dinocrates*, charged and routed him; but a body of 500 freſh men coming to his relief, the enemy rallied; and *Philopœmen* fearing that he ſhould be ſurrounded, retreated, bringing up the rear in perſon, none of the enemy daring to approach near him. Being deſirous of ſaving every man, he ſo often faced about, that he was at laſt left alone amidſt a great number of his enemies, who attacking him at a diſtance with their darts, drove him up to ſteep and ſtony places, where his horſe could ſcarcely paſs. He was weakened with ſickneſs and fatigue, and his horſe

horſe at laſt ſtumbling, threw him, when receiving a wound in his head, he lay ſpeechleſs, and the enemy thinking him dead, began to ſtrip him: but ſoon ſeeing him lift up his head, and open his eyes, they ruſhed in crowds upon him, bound his hands behind him, and led him away, inſulting him with the moſt opprobrious language.

The *Meſſenians*, on his approach, thronged to the gates of the city: but no ſooner ſaw *Philopœmen* appear in a manner ſo unſuitable to the glory of his great exploits, than ſtruck with the vanity and inconſtancy of *Fortune*, many of them wept, and began to offer him conſolation, adding, that they ought to remember that they owed their liberty to him when he drove away *Nabis*. While a few, to pay their court to *Dinocrates*, were for tormenting and putting him to death. Theſe thruſt him into a dark dungeon under ground, which having no doors, was covered with a ſtone; this was inſtantly rolled to the mouth of the dungeon, and having placed a guard about it they left him.

Mean while *Philopœmen*'s men recovering themſelves after their flight, and fearing he was dead, ſince they could not ſee him; made a ſtand, calling him with loud cries, and reproaching each other for ſuffering their general to loſe his life, in endeavouring to preſerve theirs. After making a diligent ſearch, and a ſtrict enquiry, they at laſt heard that he was taken, when they ſoon ſpread the news through all the towns in *Achæa*. The

Achæans deeply afflicted at this misfortune, ſent to demand him, and at the ſame time aſſembled their army, for his reſcue.

Dinocrates, however, fearing that *Philopœmen* would be ſaved, reſolved to be beforehand with the *Achæans*; and therefore, as ſoon as night had diſperſed the multitude, he ſent in the executioner with poiſon, ordering him not to leave him till he had taken it. He found *Philopœmen* lying down wrapt in his cloak, and oppreſſed with grief and trouble. On his ſeeing the light, and the man ſtanding by him with the poiſon, he ſat up, and taking the cup, aſked him if he had heard any thing of his body of horſe, and particularly of *Lycortas*? he anſwered, that moſt of them had got off ſafe. At this *Philopœmen* ſmiling, cried, "It is well that we are not every way "unfortunate;" and drinking up the poiſon, laid himſelf down again, and ſoon expired.

All *Achæa* were afflicted at the news of his death, and the youth, with ſome of the principal perſons of the ſeveral cities met at *Megalopolis*, with the reſolution to take immediate revenge. *Lycortas* was choſen general, who attacking the *Meſſenians* ravaged their country, till by common conſent they ſubmitted to the *Achæans*. *Dinocrates* killed himſelf to prevent his falling into their hands. Thoſe who voted for *Philopœmen*'s death, were ſlain by the *Achæans*, and thoſe who propoſed his being tormented, were carried away as priſoners. Having burnt his body, and put his aſhes into an urn, they marched

marched home with a mixture of triumphal and funeral pomp, wearing crowns of victory on their heads, and attended by their captives in fetters. The urn was carried by *Polybius*, the general's ſon, but it was ſo covered with garlands and ribbons, that ſcarce any of it could be ſeen. The people from all the towns and villages in the way, flocked to meet them, and ſaluting and touching the urn, joined the proceſſion, and went to *Megalopolis*, where the old men, with the women and children, mingled with the reſt; and the whole city was filled with cries and lamentations for the loſs of *Philopœmen*. Thus he was honourably interred: the priſoners were there ſtoned by his monument: after which many ſtatues were erected, and other honours decreed him by the ſeveral cities.

THE

LIFE

OF

T. Q. FLAMINIUS.

TITUS *Quintus Flaminius*, whom we chuſe for a parallel to *Philopœmen*, was warm in his enmity and his friendſhip, but his anger was ſoon appeaſed; and he was conſtant and indefatigable in conferring benefits. Thoſe whom he had obliged, he treated with as much civility and reſpect, as if the obligation had been conferred on himſelf. He was deſirous of performing the beſt and the greateſt actions, and received more pleaſure from thoſe who needed his aſſiſtance, than from thoſe who were capable of ſerving him; conſidering the former as objects on which he might exert his virtue, and the latter as his competitors in glory.

As

As *Rome* was then engaged in many wars, her youth applied themſelves to arms, and *Titus* was early taught the art of war. He was tribune under the conſul *Marcellus*, who was cut off in an ambuſcade laid by *Hannibal*; and afterwards obtaining the government of *Tarentum*, and the adjacent country, became as diſtinguiſhed for his adminiſtration of juſtice as for his military ſkill, which occaſioned his being choſen leader of the two colonies ſent to the cities of *Caſſ.* and *Narnia*. This inſpired him with loftier thoughts, and he endeavoured to paſs over the previous offices of tribune of the people, prætor and ædile, to aſpire immediately to the conſulſhip: *Fulvius* and *Manlius*, tribunes of the people, alledged the indecency of ſuffering ſo young a man, who was not yet initiated into the firſt myſteries of government, to intrude, in contempt of the laws, into the ſovereign power: but the ſenate remitting the affair to the choice of the people, they elected him conſul with *Sextus Ælius*, though he was not thirty years of age.

The war againſt *Philip* king of *Macedon* fell by lot to *Titus*, which was extremely fortunate to the *Romans*, as the drawing the other ſtates from the aſſiſtance of that prince, required a general who could employ the methods of mildneſs and perſuaſion, rather than one who would endeavour to ſucceed merely by violence and war. *Greece* had hitherto held but little correſpondence with the *Romans*, and only then begun to concern itſelf

ſelf with their affairs; and therefore would have been more averſe to embracing a foreign authority, had not *Titus* been endued with an humane diſpoſition, an inſinuating addreſs, and above all, a conſtant regard to juſtice.

Titus perceived that *Sulpitius* and *Publius*, his predeceſſors in that command, had trifled away a great part of the year in oſtentation of their new acquired honours, and in the adminiſtration of civil affairs; after which, in the cloſe of the year, they joined the army, and by this artifice prolonged their dignity another year, acting the conſul in the firſt, and the general in the latter. But *Titus* ſlighting theſe domeſtic honours, and ſolely bent on the vigorous proſecution of the war, requeſted the ſenate that the command of the fleet might be given to his brother *Lucius*, and took with him a body of choſen troops, conſiſting of three thouſand of thoſe who under *Scipio* had defeated *Aſdrubal* in *Spain*, and *Hannibal* in *Africa*. With theſe forces he got ſafe to *Epirus* *, where he found *Publius* encamped oppoſite to *Philip*, who had long poſſeſſed the paſſage over the river *Apſus*, and the ſtreights there, while *Publius*, from the natural ſtrength of the place, was unable to effect any thing againſt him. *Titus* therefore taking upon himſelf the command of the army, diſmiſſed *Publius*,

* Now a province of *Turky* in *Europe* called *Canina*, ſituated near the entrance of the gulph of *Venice*.

and

and began with enquiring into the nature of the country.

Epirus is no leſs mountainous than *Tempe*; but the country is inferior to it in beauty, it not being ſo finely diverſified with the delightful verdure of trees, groves, meadows, and fields. The bed of the river *Apſus* extends between great and lofty mountains, which riſing on each ſide like vaſt banks, form a deep and large channel, which in its appearance, and the ſwiftneſs of its current nearly reſembles the river *Peneus*. It extends on each ſide to the foot of the hills, leaving only a craggy narrow path cut cloſe by the ſtream, difficult at any time to be paſſed by an army; but abſolutely impaſſable when guarded by an enemy.

Titus was adviſed to take a compaſs along the river *Lycus*, which was an eaſy paſſage: but being afraid, that if he ſhould remove into barren and almoſt uncultivated countries, and *Philip* ſhould then decline fighting, he might be forced, through want of proviſions, to return to the ſea ſhore, without performing any thing, as his predeceſſor had done before him, he reſolved to force his way over the mountains: but *Philip* having poſſeſſed them, from all parts ſhowered down darts and arrows on the *Romans*, and there happened ſeveral ſkirmiſhes, in which many were kill'd and wounded on both ſides: but yet this afforded no proſpect of ending the war. At length, ſome men, who fed their cattle on thoſe eminences, came to inform *Titus*, that there was a way, which,

which, by taking a circuit, led to the top of the hills, and which the enemy had neglected to guard; and by this way they offered to conduct the army within three days at fartheſt to the top of the mountains. To gain the ſurer credit, they alledged, that *Charops*, king of *Epirus*, was not only privy to their deſign, but would make good all they had promiſed. This prince was a friend to the *Romans*, and gave them aſſiſtance, though he did it privately for fear of *Philip*.

Titus placing confidence in him, ſent a captain with 300 horſe and 4000 foot: but the herdſmen, who were their guides, were kept in bonds. They marched in the night by the light of the moon, which was then at full; and in the day-time lay ſtill under the covert of hollow and woody places. *Titus* now remained inactive, and had only ſome ſlight ſkirmiſhes with the enemy to keep them employed. But on the day when the party he had detached were expected on the top of the mountain, he early drew up his troops, and forming them into three diviſions, led the van, marching along the narrow paſs by the ſide of the river. The *Macedonians* aſſaulted him at a diſtance with their darts; mean while the two other ſquadrons, with prodigious courage and alacrity, clinging to the rocks, endeavoured to come to action. When the ſun was up, a thin ſmoke appeared afar off, like the miſts that uſually hang on the mountains, which was unperceived by the enemy, becauſe it was behind them; for it

was

was cauſed by the troops who had already gained the ſummit of the eminences. The *Romans* were however yet in ſuſpence; but as it increaſed in thickneſs, obſcured the air, and roſe to a greater height, they no longer doubted its being made by their companions; when giving a loud ſhout, and clambering up reſolutely, they drove the enemy to the moſt craggy places. Thoſe behind the enemy now echoed back the ſhouts of their friends from the top of the mountain, and the *Macedonians* immediately fled; but the difficulties of the place not allowing a long and cloſe purſuit, there were not more than 2000 of them ſlain. The *Romans* however, pillaged their camp, ſeized on their wealth and ſlaves, and became abſolute maſters of the paſſes; after which they traverſed all *Epirus*, without offering the leaſt injury to the inhabitants.

Titus being afterwards informed, that *Philip*, who rather fled than marched through *Theſſaly* *, forced the inhabitants to take ſhelter in the mountains, that he burnt the towns, and gave the goods, which the people could not carry off, to be plundered by his troops, earneſtly intreated the army to paſs through that coun-

* That country now called *Janna*, is at preſent a province of *Turky* in *Europe*; bounded by *Macedonia* on the north; by *Epirus* on the weſt; by *Achaia* or *Livadia* on the ſouth, and by the *Archipelago* on the eaſt.

try, as if it were their own; and indeed they ſoon perceived the benefit they derived from following the humane advice of their general: for they no ſooner entered *Theſſaly*, than the cities ſurrendered to them; the *Grecians* within *Thermopylæ* ardently longed to put themſelves under the protection of *Titus*; and the *Acheans*, breaking their league with *Philip*, joined the *Romans* againſt him. For thoſe who had heard *Titus* repreſented by the *Macedonians*, as an invader at the head of an army of Barbarians, carrying every where ſlavery and deſtruction, were ſtruck with ſurprize and pleaſure, at ſeeing on the contrary, a man of a mild and graceful aſpect, in the flower of his age, who in his voice and language was a *Grecian*, and who in all his actions ſhewed that he was a man of honour and humanity: they could not help being charmed with him, and on leaving him, filled the cities to which they came with affection and eſteem for his perſon. Afterwards, when *Philip* ſeemed inclined to an accommodation, *Titus* offered him peace and the friendſhip of the *Romans*, on condition of his withdrawing his garriſons, and leaving the *Grecians* their own laws and liberties; but this he refuſed, and it was evident to all, and even to *Philip*'s party, that the *Romans* came not to fight againſt the *Grecks*, but only to defend them from the *Macedonians*.

All the reſt of *Greece* having voluntarily ſubmitted to him, except *Bœotia*, he marched into that country without committing any act

act of hoſtility. The nobility and chief men of *Thebes* * came to meet him; and, though they favoured the *Macedonians*, they paid their compliments to *Titus*, for they were in friendſhip with both parties. They were received by *Titus* in the moſt courteous and obliging manner, who entering into diſcourſe with them, proceeded ſlowly on, to allow time for thoſe of his ſoldiers, who were behind, to come up with him. In this manner he entered the city with the *Thebans*; for tho' it was againſt their inclinations, they durſt not deny him entrance; and *Titus* ſtill continued his diſcourſe, and perſuaded them to join the *Romans*, as if the city had not been at his mercy. Thus he induced the *Bœotians* to ſide with the *Romans*.

Philip afterwards ſending an embaſſy to *Rome*, *Titus* alſo ſent agents on his part, to ſollicit the ſenate to allow him ſtill to have the command, if the war continued; and if they determined to put a period to it, to grant him the honour of concluding the peace. On which his friends took ſuch meaſures, that *Philip* could obtain none of his demands, and *Titus* was allowed to continue the war.

* This ancient city was ſeated near the place where *Thiva* now ſtands, in *Turky* in *Europe*, and ought not to be confounded with the celebrated *Thebes* in *Upper Egypt*; of which a very curious account is given in *The World diſplayed*, vol. xii. p. 145, &c.

Titus was no ſooner informed of the ſenate's determination, than he marched back into *Theſſaly* to make head againſt *Philip*. His army conſiſted of 26,000 men, of which the *Ætolians* furniſhed 6000 foot and 400 horſe, and the forces of *Philip* amounted to about the ſame number. Both armies advanced to meet each other till they came near *Scotuſa*, where they reſolved to hazard a battle. On this occaſion *Titus* exhorted his ſoldiers to exert all their bravery, as they were now to contend in the midſt of *Greece*, the moſt glorious theatre in the world, with adverſaries diſtinguiſhed for their ſtrength and valour. On the other hand, *Philip* mounted an eminence on the outſide of his camp, in order to his being the better heard, and began to harangue his men; but they were inſtantly ſeized with the moſt dreadful deſpondency; becauſe the place on which he ſtood was a burying-ground, which they conſidered as a fatal omen. This circumſtance gave *Philip* ſuch concern, that he returned to his camp, and declined fighting all day.

The night was rainy, and the next morning, when there was a thick fog, both *Titus* and *Philip* ſending out parties to make diſcoveries, and form ambuſcades, they fell in with each other, and engaged at a narrow paſs called *Cynocephalæ*, or the *Dogs Heads*, which are ſharp peaks on the tops of the hills, ſtanding thick and cloſe to each, and gained the name from their ſhape having ſome reſemblance to that of a dog's head. Theſe ſkirmiſhes

miſhes were attended with various ſucceſs, as might be expected in ſuch uneven places; the ſame party being ſometimes hot in the purſuit, and ſometimes flying, each general ſent ſuccours from his camp, as he ſaw his own men preſſed and giving way: till at length, the ſky clearing up, the whole armies engaged. *Philip*, who commanded the right wing, advanced from the riſing ground with his whole phalanx againſt the *Romans*, the braveſt of whom were unable to withſtand the force of their united ſhields and projected ſpears, their left wing was therefore broken; which being obſerved by *Titus*, who had little hopes on that ſide, he haſted to the other, and there charged the *Macedonians*, who, from the inequality and roughneſs of the country, could neither keep their body entire, nor line their ranks, but were obliged to fight man to man, under heavy and unweildy armour. For the *Macedonian* phalanx, while it continues united in one body, and ſhield is locked to ſhield, reſembles an animal of enormous ſtrength; but being once broken, every ſingle ſoldier of which it is compoſed, loſes a part of his own ſtrength from the nature of his armour; for each is ſtrong, only as he forms a part of the whole. Theſe being therefore ſoon routed, ſome gave chace to thoſe who fled, while others charged thoſe *Macedonians* in flank who were ſtill fighting; and thus the victorious wing was ſoon broken and put to flight. No leſs than 8000 were ſlain, and about 5000

taken priſoners; and had it not been for the *Ætolians*, *Philip* himſelf would probably not have eſcaped: for inſtead of joining the *Romans* in the purſuit, they fell to plundering the camp, and carried off all the booty before they returned. This occaſioned great quarrels: but afterwards they offended *Titus* ſtill more, by aſcribing the victory to themſelves, and prepoſſeſſing the *Grecians* by reports to their own advantage; ſo that, in the ſongs that were made on this action, the *Ætolians* were ranked firſt. *Titus* was very ambitious of acquiring a reputation among the *Greeks*; he however only ſhewed his reſentment by managing every thing without the *Ætolians*; at which they were ſo offended, that when *Titus* liſtened to terms of accommodation, and admitted of an embaſſy from the king of *Macedon*, they exclaimed in all the *Grecian* cities, that this peace was purchaſed by *Philip*, though it was in *Titus*'s power to put a final period to the war, and to lay waſte that empire which had enſlaved all *Greece*. But while the *Ætolians* laboured to ſhake the fidelity of the *Roman* confederates, by theſe and the like reports, *Philip*, by ſuing for peace, and ſubmitting himſelf and his kingdom to the *Romans*, removed all theſe jealouſies.

Thus *Titus* put a period to the war; but, though he re-inſtated *Philip* in the kingdom of *Macedon*, he obliged him to quit *Greece*, and fined him 1000 talents; he alſo deprived him of all his veſſels, and ſent *Demetrius*, one of

of his ſons, hoſtage to *Rome*. For *Hannibal*, who had fled from his own country, had long taken up his reſidence at the court of king *Antiochus*, a victorious prince, whom he excited to take up arms againſt the *Romans*; and had he joined his troops to thoſe of *Philip*, theſe two princes, who were the greateſt and moſt powerful of that age, *Rome* might once more have been expoſed to the ſame hazard, and have been reduced to the ſame extremities, as thoſe ſhe had ſuffered in the wars againſt *Hannibal*; but, by the timely concluſion of this peace, he at once diſappointed *Antiochus* of his firſt hopes, and *Philip* of his laſt refuge.

In the mean time, there arrived ten commiſſioners, ſent by the ſenate to *Titus*, with orders to adviſe him to reſtore the reſt of *Greece* to liberty; but to keep garriſons in *Corinth*, *Chalcis* and *Demetrias*, as a ſecurity againſt any attempt from *Antiochus*. Hence the *Ætolians*, who were always famed for calumny, took occaſion to raiſe commotions, calling on *Titus* to knock off the *Shackles* of *Greece*; (for ſo *Philip* uſed to term thoſe three cities) and they aſked the *Grecians*, Whether it was not a great conſolation to them, that, while their chains weighed heavier, they were neater and better poliſhed than formerly? And whether *Titus* did not deſerve to be admired as their benefactor, who had unſhackled the feet of *Greece*, and tied her up by the neck?

Titus,

Titus, though highly provoked, prevailed on the council to have thoſe garriſons removed. Juſt at this time were celebrated the *Iſthmean* games, and the theatre was crowded with multitudes who ſat to ſee the exerciſes, when the crier ſtepping forth amidſt the ſpectators, made proclamation, "That the *Roman* ſenate, and *Titus Quintius* the proconſular general, having vanquiſhed king *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, reſtored the *Corinthians*, *Locrians*, *Phocians*, *Eubæans*, *Achæans*, *Pthiotæ*, *Magneſians*, *Theſſalians*, and *Perræbians*, to their liberty, took off all impoſitions, and withdrew their garriſons." Inſtantly there aroſe a ſtrange murmur and commotion in the theatre; ſome ſhewing ſigns of joy and aſtoniſhment; ſome aſking queſtions, and others calling out to the crier to repeat it again. A profound ſilence was now made, and every ear fixed in attention. The crier then raiſed his voice; he was heard by the whole aſſembly; and the proclamation was no ſooner ended, than in an extaſy of joy, they gave a ſhout ſo incredibly loud, that it was heard as far as the ſea. All the people roſe up, unanimouſly embraced each other, and ſaluted *Flaminius* as the ſaviour and deliverer of *Greece*. The wonderful effects aſcribed to the ſtrength of the united voices of a vaſt multitude were here verified; for ſome crows that happened to be flying over the ſtage, fell down dead upon the ſhout.

Vaſt

FLAMINIUS restoring Liberty to Greece.

Vaſt multitudes crowded about *Titus* to expreſs their joy and their acknowledgments; but he withdrew from them to his pavillion, which they ſoon ſurrounded; and, having there tired themſelves with their acclamations, they kiſſed and embraced all the friends they met, and retired to ſpend the evening in mirth and feaſting.

Titus ſoon made good by his actions what he had promiſed in his proclamation: he immediately diſpatched *Lentulus* to *Aſia*, to give freedom to the *Bargylians*; and *Titillius* to *Thrace*, to remove the garriſons of *Philip* from the towns and garriſons. *Publius Villius* went to treat with *Antiochus* about the freedom of the *Greeks* under him. *Titus* himſelf proceeded to *Chalcis*, and ſailing from thence to *Magneſia*, removed the garriſons, and ſurrendered the government into the hands of the people. On his arrival at *Argos*, he was choſen judge of the *Nemean* games, an office which he executed to the ſatisfaction of all. He there proclaimed again the liberty of the *Grecians*; and, in all the cities through which he paſſed, he preſſed the people to conform to their own laws; to adhere to the conſtant practice of juſtice, and to unite in the ſtricteſt friendſhip with the other ſtates. He quelled the ſeditious, and thoſe who had been baniſhed he brought home. In ſhort, his conquering *Philip* did not give him more pleaſure than his ſucceſs in reconciling *Greeks* with *Greeks*; and their liberty now ſeemed the leaſt of the favours he had conferred upon them. The benefit

benefit *Rome* received from this generous conduct, did not conſiſt only in empty praiſes; the power of the *Romans* became enlarged, and they deſervedly gained the eſteem and confidence of all nations; many of whom entreated to be under their government, and kings oppreſſed by kings, ſought to be under their protection. *Titus* hung up ſome ſilver targets, together with his own ſhield, in the temple of *Delphi*, on which was an inſcription, intimating that he had reſtored liberty to *Greece:* he alſo made an offering to *Apollo* of a golden crown.

Titus afterwards made war on *Nabis*, a moſt profligate and cruel tyrant of the *Spartans:* but he here diſappointed the expectations of the *Grecians*, by concluding a peace with him when he might have taken him priſoner; but *Titus* alledged, that the tyrant's deſtruction would have been attended with the ruin of *Sparta*.

The *Achæans* decreed many honours to *Titus*; among which was a preſent that ſeemed equal to the greatneſs of his ſervices. Thoſe *Romans*, who, in the war with *Hannibal*, had the misfortune to be taken captive, being ſold as ſlaves, were diſperſed in various countries, and 1200 of them were at that time in *Greece*. This turn of fortune had juſtly rendered them objects of compaſſion, more particularly at that time, when ſome met their ſons, ſome their brothers, and others their friends, who were freemen and conquerors, while they themſelves were ſlaves.

Titus

Titus, though deeply concerned for them; took none of them by force from their maſters: but the *Achæans* redeeming them at five *minæ* each, aſſembled them together, and made a preſent of them to him, juſt as he was going on board his ſhip; and he ſailed away, filled with the higheſt ſatisfaction.

Theſe afterwards formed the moſt glorious part of his triumph; for, as it is the cuſtom for ſlaves, upon their manumiſſion, to ſhave their heads, and wear a peculiar kind of caps, theſe redeemed *Romans* thus followed the triumphal chariot of *Titus*. To add to the ſplendor of this ſhow, the *Grecian* helmets, the *Macedonian* targets and ſpears, with the reſt of the ſpoils, were carried in pomp before him, together with vaſt quantities of gold and ſilver; for, according to *Itanus*, there were carried in his triumph 3713 pounds weight of unwrought gold, 43,270 of ſilver, 14,514 pieces of coined gold called *Philipicks*; beſides which, *Philip* owed a thouſand talents; though the *Romans*, chiefly by the mediation of *Titus*, remitted this debt, and declaring *Philip* their ally and confederate, ſent home his ſon, who had been delivered up as an hoſtage.

Some time after *Antiochus*, with a numerous fleet and a powerful army, entered *Greece*, in order to prevail on the cities to engage in a war with the *Romans*; in which he was aſſiſted by the *Ætolians*, who, for want of a more ſpecious pretence, inſtructed him to colour his enterprize with the pleaſing name of

of liberty. The conſul *Manlius Atilius* was ſent to take the charge of the war, and *Titus*, out of reſpect to the *Greeks*, was appointed his lieutenant. On his firſt arrival, he confirmed the fidelity of thoſe who were their friends, and prevented the defection of ſuch as began to waver. A few had been ſo wholly perverted by the *Ætolians*, that all his endeavours to gain them were ineffectual; yet, notwithſtanding they had exaſperated him, he granted them his protection when the battle was over; for *Antiochus* being defeated at *Thermopylæ*, fled, and ſet ſail for *Aſia*.

After this, *Manlius* laid ſiege to ſome of the towns belonging to the *Ætolians*, while he abandoned others to king *Philip*. But *Titus* being touched with compaſſion for *Greece*, came from the *Peloponneſus*, and reproached the conſul for permitting king *Philip* to reap the whole profit of the war, when he himſelf had gained the victory; and for ſpending his time in the ſiege of *Naupactus*, which was then in the hands of the *Ætolians*, merely to gratify his anger, while the *Macedonians* over-ran ſeveral nations and kingdoms. *Titus* happening then to ſtand in view of the beſieged, they no ſooner ſaw him, but calling to him from the wall, and ſtretching forth their hands, implored his favour: but making them no reply, he turned with tears in his eyes, and went away; yet ſoon after, he prevailed on *Manlius* to grant the *Ætolians* a truce, and to allow them time

to

to ſend deputies to *Rome*, to petition the ſenate for favourable terms. The *Chalcidians* having alſo juſtly offended *Manlius* by the reſpect they had ſhewn to *Antiochus*, he marched againſt them; but *Titus* followed him, in order to appeaſe his reſentment, and at length, by his entreaties, and a ſedulous application to thoſe of the greateſt quality and intereſt in *Rome* ſucceeded.

The *Chalcidians* now expreſſed their gratitude to *Titus*, by dedicating to him the moſt magnificent of their public ſtructures. Thus to this day may be ſeen the inſcriptions, *The people dedicate this Gymnaſium to* Titus *and to* Hercules; and *The people conſecrate the Delphinium to* Titus *and to* Apollo. Even to this time they with great form elect a prieſt to *Titus*, and after the ſacrifice with the libations are over, they ſing an hymn to his honour; the concluſion of which is as follows:

The ſons of Rome *with joy we truſt;*
To all their vows minutely juſt.
To Jove, *ye* Muſes, *raiſe the ſong;*
To Jove *and* Rome *your ſtrains belong:*
The Roman *faith and* Titus *ſing;*
Iö Titus! *Saviour! King!*

Honours were alſo heaped upon him by other parts of *Greece*, but what rendered them truly valuable, was the ſincere affection of the people by whom they were beſtowed, and which he had gained by his equity and moderation. For whenever he was at variance

with any one, as was once the caſe with *Philopœmen*, and with *Diaphenes*, general of the *Achæans*, his reſentment never broke out into acts; but having vented itſelf in the freedom of diſcourſe uſual in public debates, it ſubſided. Though he often appeared haſty and paſſionate, no one ever found him implacable and revengeful: he was a moſt agreeable companion, and in his converſation, good ſenſe was joined with much wit and pleaſantry.

Titus on his return to *Rome*, after the conclusion of the war with *Antiochus*, was created cenſor: an office of the higheſt dignity. The ſon of *Marcellus*, who had been five times conſul, was his colleague. They expelled four of the ſenators, who were perſons of inconſiderable note, and by the decree of the people, made in compliance with *Terentius Culeo*, their tribune, admitted all that offered themſelves, to the privilege of *Roman* citizens, provided their parents were free.

Titus's natural ambition met with general applauſe, while the above wars afforded a proper occaſion for its exertion: but when he was far advanced in years, he was highly cenſured for retaining ſtill a violent thirſt for fame. To ſome ſuch diſpoſition, his behaviour to *Hannibal* is thought to have been owing. *Hannibal* having fled his country, firſt took ſanctuary with *Antiochus*; but after the battle in *Phrygia*, that prince being glad to conclude a peace with the *Romans*, *Hannibal*

nibal was obliged again to fly, and after wandering through many countries, found protection in the court of *Pruſias*, king of *Bithynia*. His place of retreat was known at *Rome*; but he was conſidered as a man enfeebled by age, and one who had been caſt off by fortune. But *Titus* being ſent ambaſſador to that court, and ſeeing *Hannibal* there, could not bear his being ſuffered to live. And though *Pruſias* uſed many intreaties in his favour, as an acquaintance, a friend, and a ſuppliant to whom he had granted his protection, *Titus* would take no denial *. There is a ſandy place in *Bithynia*, bordering on the ſea, near a little village named *Libyſſa*; thither *Hannibal* chanced to retire, and having all along diſtruſted the ductile and eaſy temper of *Pruſias*, and feared the reſentment of the *Romans*, he had cauſed ſeven ſubterraneous paſſages to be dug under his houſe; theſe being continued far under ground, terminated in different places. Hearing therefore that *Titus* had ordered him to be ſeized, he attempted to make his eſcape through theſe caves, but finding them beſet with the king's guards, he reſolved to put a period to his life. Some

* This ſeems the moſt exceptionable paſſage in the life of this great man. It was little, it was mean and cowardly, thus to ſeek the life of a brave old man, whoſe greateſt crime was, that he had once ſhewn, that he was inferior to no *Roman* in valour and ambition.

Hippias and *Androcleon*, three young men of approved loyalty, ſtrength, and courage, who were to continue their flight, till they reached *Megara*, a town in *Macedonia*; while they themſelves ſtopped the courſe of the purſuers, and having afterwards, with much difficulty got clear of them, they haſtened to join thoſe who had the care of *Pyrrhus*. But when the ſun was ready to ſet, and they were near the accompliſhment of their hopes, they were ſtopped by a river, which having been ſwelled by the rains was not fordable. The approaching darkneſs of the night added to their diſtreſs, and they deſpaired of conveying over the child and the woman who attended him, without farther aſſiſtance. Perceiving ſome of the inhabitants of the place on the other ſide; they called out for their help; but the roaring of the water prevented their being heard. At laſt one of them peeled off a piece of bark from an oak, and wrote upon it with the tongue of a buckle the neceſſities and fortunes of the child; then faſtening it to a ſtone, threw it over to the other ſide: others ſay, that they faſtened it to the end of a javelin, and darted it over. The people on the oppoſite ſhore having read what was on the bark, inſtantly cut down ſome trees, laſhed them together, and came over to them; when the firſt who got aſhore took the prince in his arms, and conveyed him over, while the reſt performed the ſame ſervice for his followers.

Having

Having thus croſſed the river, and got out of the reach of their enemies, they proſecuted their journey till they arrived at the court of *Glaucias*, king of *Illyria*, whom they found ſitting in his palace with his queen, and imploring his protection, they laid the child at his feet. The king, who was under apprehenſions from the power of *Caſſander*, the mortal enemy of *Æacides*, remained ſilent, not knowing how to act. But at length, the child creeping towards him, laid hold of his robe, and raiſing himſelf on his feet, ſtood at his knees. The king at firſt laughed; but was ſoon touched with compaſſion for the helpleſs infant, who ſeemed to implore his protection. Others ſay, that the child crept to the altar of the Penates, and raiſing himſelf up, ſtretched out his arms, which made *Glaucias* conſider the affair in a religious light. However, taking the infant in his arms, he delivered it to the queen, and ordered that he ſhould be brought up with his own children. His enemies ſome time after ſent to demand him, and *Caſſander* offered the king 200 talents on condition of his delivering him up; but this *Glaucias* refuſed, and when he was twelve years of age, conducted him at the head of an army to *Epirus*, and placed him on the throne.

The countenance of *Pyrrhus* had an air of majeſty more terrible than auguſt. In his upper jaw he had no ſeparate teeth, but a continued bone, marked with ſmall lines that reſembled the diviſions of a row of them.

When

BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE NAP

The Infant PYRRHUS *laid at the Feet of* GLAUCIAS *King of Illyria.*

When he was about ſeventeen years of age, and the government to appearance well ſettled, he left his kingdom in order to be preſent at the marriage of one of the ſons of *Glaucias*, with whom he had been educated: but in his abſence the *Moloſſians* expelled all of his party, rifled his treaſury, and placed *Neoptolemus* on the throne.

Pyrrhus being thus deprived of his kingdom, applied to *Demetrius*, the ſon of *Antigonus*; and, at the great battle of *Ipſus*, in which all the kings of the earth * were engaged, accompanied *Demetrius*, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his bravery. Afterwards, when *Demetrius*'s fortunes were low, he did not forſake him, but ſecured for him ſome of the *Grecian* cities with which he was entruſted. At length, on an agreement being concluded between *Demetrius* and *Ptolemy*, *Pyrrhus* was ſent as an hoſtage into *Egypt*, where, in hunting and other exerciſes, he gave *Ptolemy* convincing proofs of his ſtrength and courage. He there obſerved, that of all *Ptolemy*'s wives, *Berenice*, who was moſt eſteemed for her virtue and underſtanding, had the greateſt power, he therefore principally paid his court to her; for he had a peculiar art in recommending himſelf to the great, when it was neceſſary to promote his own intereſt,

* Theſe kings were *Lyſimachus*, *Caſſander*, *Ptolemy*, *Seleucus*, *Demetrius*, and *Antigonus*, whom *Plutarch*, by an hyperbole, calls all the kings of the earth.

while

while he over-looked ſuch as were below him. As he appeared to be endued with uncommon prudence and moderation, he, in preference to ſeveral other young princes, obtained in marriage *Antigone* the daughter of *Berenice*, by *Philip* her firſt huſband; and by her means he obtained men and money which enabled him to recover his kingdom.

On his arrival at *Epirus*, his ſubjects, who hated *Neoptolemus* for his arbitrary and tyrannical government, received him with open arms; but *Pyrrhus* fearing leſt that prince ſhould have recourſe to ſome other kings for aſſiſtance, choſe to aſſociate him in the kingdom: but this harmony was ſoon interrupted. It was cuſtomary for the kings of *Epirus* to hold an aſſembly at *Paſſaro*, a place in the province of the *Moloſſians*, where, having ſacrificed to *Jupiter the Warrior*, the kings took an oath, by which they obliged themſelves to govern according to law, and the people ſwore to maintain them in the government. At this time the ceremony was performed in the preſence of the two kings and their friends, after which preſents were made and received on both ſides. Among the reſt, *Gelon*, a friend of *Neoptolemus*, made *Pyrrhus* a preſent of two yoke of oxen; on which *Myrtilus*, *Pyrrhus*'s cup-bearer, begged them; but refuſing him, he gave them to another. *Gelon* knowing that *Myrtilus* was highly offended at being refuſed this favour, invited him to ſupper, and after it was over, perſuaded him to embrace the intereſt of *Neoptolemus*, and to poiſon

poiſon his maſter. This deſign *Myrtilus* ſeemed to approve, but immediately diſcovered it to *Pyrrhus*, who being deſirous of having the crime proved by more than one evidence, directed him to take *Alexicrates*, his chief cup-bearer with him, and to recommend him to *Gelon*, as a fit inſtrument for their purpoſe. This being done, *Gelon* was ſo pleaſed, that he communicated his deſign to *Neoptolemus*, who not doubting of his friend's ſucceſs, was unable to conceal his inhuman joy, but gave it vent among his friends; and in particular, revealed the whole affair to his ſiſter *Cadmia*, while at ſupper with her, thinking none within hearing but themſelves; but *Phænerete*, the wife of *Samon*, the chief keeper of *Neoptolemus*'s cattle, had laid herſelf on a couch, with her face turned towards the wall, and pretending to be faſt aſleep, heard all without ſuſpicion, and the next day went and revealed it to *Antigone*. This was told to *Pyrrhus*, who ſeemed to take no notice of it; but one night, after the performance of a ſolemn ſacrifice, he invited *Neoptolemus* to ſupper, and ſlew him; for all the leading men of *Epirus* were in *Pyrrhus*'s intereſt; they had often preſſed him to remove *Neoptolemus* from the throne, and had now adviſed him to ſave his own life by taking his.

Pyrrhus, in acknowledgment of his obligations to *Ptolemy* and *Berenice*, gave the name of *Ptolemy* to a ſon he had by *Antigone*, and having built a city in the peninſula of

Epirus, he called it *Berenicis*. He began now to form great deſigns. *Antipater*, the eldeſt ſon of *Caſſander*, had killed his mother *Theſſalonica*, and expelled *Alexander* his brother from the throne of *Macedon*; on which *Alexander* applied to *Pyrrhus* for aſſiſtance, who marched to his aid; but demanded, as the reward of his ſervices, the city of *Nymphæa*, all the maritime coaſt of *Macedonia*, with *Amphilochia*, *Acarnania*, and *Ambracia*, which were ſome of the conquered countries that did not anciently belong to the kingdom of *Macedonia*. The young prince complying with this demand, *Pyrrhus* took poſſeſſion of thoſe countries, ſecured them with good garriſons, and reſtored to *Alexander* the reſt of the kingdom which he gained from *Antipater*.

The affairs of that prince were now ſettled; notwithſtanding which, the arrival of *Demetrius*, who had before been invited to give him aſſiſtance, ſtruck *Alexander* with terror; in a few days, mutual jealouſies aroſe between them; they plotted againſt each other; and *Demetrius* ſeizing the firſt opportunity, murdered the young king, and then cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed king of *Macedon*.

There had been for ſome time no very good underſtanding between *Demetrius* and *Pyrrhus*; for the thirſt of power and dominion rendered their neighbourhood uneaſy and formidable to each other: beſides, as each had ſeized on a part of *Macedonia*, their claims now

now interfered with each other, and naturally afforded freſh ſubject for contention.

Demetrius having afterwards ſubdued the *Ætolians*, left *Pentauchus* with part of his forces to ſecure his conqueſts, and at the head of the reſt, marched againſt *Pyrrhus*, who being informed that he was coming, went to meet him; but both miſtaking the way, paſſed by each other. *Demetrius* ravaged *Epirus*, while *Pyrrhus* meeting *Pentauchus*, gave him battle. The diſpute was on both ſides warm and obſtinate; for *Pentauchus*, who excelled all *Demetrius*'s officers in dexterity, ſtrength, and courage, challenged *Pyrrhus* to ſingle combat. On the other hand, *Pyrrhus*, who was inferior to none in fortitude and a thirſt of glory, advanced againſt him thro' the front of the army. They firſt made uſe of their lances, and then of their ſwords, which they uſed with great ſtrength and addreſs. *Pyrrhus* received one wound, and his enemy two, which brought him to the ground, on which he was reſcued by his friends. The *Epirots*, now elated with the victory of their king, and animated by his courage, broke and put to flight the *Macedonian* phalanx, purſued the fugitives with a great ſlaughter, and took 5000 priſoners. The very *Macedonians* could not help being aſtoniſhed at the valour of *Pyrrhus*, or forbear thinking that in his countenance and impetuoſity he reſembled *Alexander* the Great.

Pyrrhus now returned home, exulting in the honour he had acquired. The *Epirots*

called him their Eagle; on which he replied, "'Tis by your means that I am an Eagle; "for what can I be leſs when I am borne up- "on your arms, as on wings?"

Pyrrhus being ſome time after informed that *Demetrius* was dangerouſly ill, ſuddenly marched into *Macedonia*, intending only to ravage the country: but meeting with no oppoſition, he advanced as far as *Edeſſa*, the capital of the kingdom, without ſtriking a blow; and, as he was joined by many of the inhabitants, was very near taking poſſeſſion of the kingdom; but *Demetrius* and his friends ſoon raiſed a conſiderable army, and attacked *Pyrrhus* with all their forces, who coming only to pillage, declined the battle, though in his retreat he loſt a part of his army.

Demetrius now forming great deſigns, and thinking of nothing leſs than recovering his father's dominions, with an army of ten thouſand men and five hundred ſhips, was deſirous of concluding a peace with *Pyrrhus*, that he might, with the greater ſafety, make uſe of his forces againſt the other kings. The concluſion of this peace was ſucceeded by ſuch preparations as ſoon made known his deſigns. The kings were alarmed, and ſent their ambaſſadors with letters to *Pyrrhus*, expreſſing their aſtoniſhment at his ſitting ſtill till his enemy was at leiſure, and in a condition to attack him, notwithſtanding he had been ſo lately deprived by *Demetrius* both of his wife and the city of *Corcyra*.

Laniſſa,

Laniſſa, one of *Pyrrhus*'s wives, and the daughter of *Agathecles* the *Syracuſan*, had for her dowry *Corcyra*, which had been taken by her father; but ſhe being offended at *Pyrrhus* for ſhewing greater tokens of love to his other wives than to her, withdrew to *Corcyra*; and being deſirous of marrying ſome other king, made an overture to *Demetrius*, who ſailing thither, eſpouſed *Laniſſa*, and placed a garriſon in the iſland.

The kings having ſent this advice to *Pyrrhus*, found work for *Demetrius* while he was making his preparations: *Ptolemy* ſet ſail with a large fleet, and drew off many of the *Grecian* cities: *Lyſimachus* marching from *Thrace*, laid waſte the upper *Macedon*; and *Pyrrhus* taking arms at the ſame time, marched to *Beræa*, rightly judging, that *Demetrius*, by drawing his forces againſt *Lyſimachus*, would leave the lower country defenceleſs. He with long marches reached *Beræa*, which he took, and made his head quarters, reducing the reſt of the country by his commanders. *Demetrius* receiving intelligence of this, and perceiving that his army was ready to mutiny, was afraid to advance farther againſt *Lyſimachus*, leſt his troops ſhould revolt to him, on account of his being a *Macedonian* diſtinguiſhed for his bravery. He therefore returned, and marching againſt *Pyrrhus*, encamped with his forces near *Beræa*.

While he lay there, many of the inhabitants came out of the city to viſit their

friends in the camp, where they highly praiſed *Pyrrhus*, as an illuſtrious prince, invincible in arms, who treated all that fell into his hands with great tenderneſs and humanity. *Pyrrhus* alſo privately ſent others to the camp, who pretending to be *Macedonians*, ſaid, that now was the time for them to deliver themſelves from the cruelty of *Demetrius*, by declaring for *Pyrrhus*, a popular prince, who ſhewed great kindneſs to his ſoldiers. This had the deſired effect; the greateſt part of the army caſt their eyes to the enemy's camp to ſee if they could diſcover *Pyrrhus*. At that inſtant his helmet happened to be off; but immediately recollecting himſelf, he put it on, and was in a moment known by his glittering plume, and creſt of goat's horns. On which the *Macedonians* running in a turbulent manner, deſired *Demetrius* to come to an agreement with *Pyrrhus*; while others put oaken boughs on their heads, becauſe they ſaw them worn by the ſoldiers of *Pyrrhus*; and ſome had even the confidence to tell *Demetrius*, that it would be for his intereſt to withdraw and lay down the government. Upon this *Demetrius* privately fled, diſguiſed in a mean coat and a *Macedonian* hat; on which *Pyrrhus*, without fighting, became maſter of the camp, and was declared king of the *Macedonians*.

But ſoon after *Lyſimachus* arriving, affirmed that he had contributed as much to the flight and expulſion of *Demetrius* as *Pyrrhus*, and that therefore the kingdom ought to be

ſhared

ſhared between them: when *Pyrrhus* not being well aſſured of the fidelity of the *Macedonians*, conſented, and they divided the citi s and provinces between them. This prevented a war; but they ſoon found that this partition, inſtead of terminating all diſputes, proved an occaſion of mutual complaint and diſſention. For how was it poſſible, that princes whoſe ambition can neither be bounded by ſeas, mountains, nor uninhabited deſarts, ſhould, when ſo near to each other, reſt contented with their poſſeſſions, and abſtain from injuſtice and violence? Peace and war they employ not as juſtice directs, but uſe them indifferently, like pieces of money, to ſuit their preſent intereſt. They are more worthy of eſteem when they openly make war, than when they give to the want of opportunity to do wrong, the ſacred names of juſtice and friendſhip.

Pyrrhus ſoon renewed his oppoſition to *Demetrius*, who began to recover his affairs, as ſtrength returns after ſickneſs; he marched to the aſſiſtance of the *Grecians*, and entering the city of *Athens*, went up to the citadel, where he ſacrificed to *Minerva*; but returning to the city, told the *Athenians* that he was highly pleaſed with the affection they had ſhewn, and the confidence they had placed in him; but that if they were wiſe, they would never ſuffer any king to enter their city. Soon after he concluded a peace with *Demetrius*; but yet, on his paſſing into *Aſia*,

Asia, he, by the perſuaſion of *Lyſimachus*, prevailed on the *Theſſalians* to revolt, and to keep his *Macedonian* ſubjects employed, attacked the garriſons he had in *Greece*.

At length, while *Pyrrhus* was with his troops, which were quartered at *Edeſſa*, *Lyſimachus*, having no other employment for his arms, marched againſt him, and on his advancing near that city, took one of the king's convoys, which diſtreſſed the army with the want of proviſions; then by letters and falſe rumours he corrupted the chief of the *Macedonian* officers, whom he reproached for having choſen for their ſovereign a ſtranger, while they expelled the old friends and companions of *Alexander* from the country. Theſe repreſentations had ſoon ſuch an effect upon the reſt of the *Macedonians*, that *Pyrrhus* fearing the event, withdrew with his *Epirots* and auxiliary forces, loſing *Macedon* in the ſame manner as that by which he had gained it. Thus kings have no reaſon to condemn the ficklenes of the people, ſince they do but imitate them, who are their inſtructors in treachery and perfidy.

Pyrrhus now returned to *Epirus*, where fortune gave him a fair opportunity of enjoying himſelf in quiet, and peaceably governing his own ſubjects; but he thought life inſupportably tedious unleſs he was doing miſchief to others, or repelling it when offered to him, and therefore readily ſeized the following opportunity of obtaining a freſh opportunity for doing it.

The

The *Tarentines* were at this time at war with the *Romans*, but being unable either to ſupport or conclude it, on account of the bold and turbulent ſpeeches of their leading men, they reſolved to call in *Pyrrhus* and make him their general. The graver and more diſcreet citizens oppoſed this advice, but were over-borne by the noiſe and violence of the multitude. On the day when this public decree was to be ratified, and the people were all ſeated, *Meton*, a very worthy man, came dancing into the aſſembly like one drunk, with a wither'd garland on his head, a torch in his hand, and a woman before him playing on a flute; as in thoſe popular aſſemblies, no decorum was obſerved, ſome clapped their hands, others laughed, and others called on her to play, and him to ſing; but when ſilence was made, *Meton*, inſtead of ſinging, cried, "'Tis well done of "you, O *Tarentines!* not to hinder any from "making themſelves merry, while it is yet "in their power; if you are wiſe, you will "ſtill preſerve this freedom; for you muſt "change your courſe of life, when *Pyrrhus* "comes." Theſe words made a ſtrong impreſſion on many of the *Tarentines*; but ſome who feared their being ſacrificed to the *Romans* if a peace was made, reproached the aſſembly for liſtening to a drunkard, and crowding upon him, thruſt him out. Thus the decree was paſſed, and ambaſſadors were ſent to *Epirus*, both in their own name and in that of the *Italian Greeks*, carrying preſents

ſents to *Pyrrhus*, and having orders to tell him, that they wanted only a general of his fame and experience; they being able to raiſe a powerful army of *Meſſapians*, *Lucanians*, *Samnites*, and *Tarentines*, amounting to no leſs than 20,000 horſe, and 350,000 foot. This not only animated *Pyrrhus*, but alſo inſpired the *Epirots* with a ſtrong inclination to the war.

At that time *Pyrrhus* had at his court *Cineas* a *Theſſalian*, who had been a diſciple of *Demoſthenes*, and was eſteemed the only orator of his time, who could revive in the minds of his hearers, a ſtrong idea of the force and eloquence of his maſter. *Pyrrhus* had therefore employed him in ſeveral embaſſies, and uſed to ſay, that *Cineas* had taken more towns with his words, than he with his arms; whence he treated him with great reſpect, and employed him in the moſt important affairs. *Cineas* finding *Pyrrhus* intent on preparing for this war, ſeized the opportunity of a leiſure hour, and drew him inſenſibly into the following converſation. The *Romans*, ſaid he, have the reputation of being excellent ſoldiers, and govern many warlike nations: if we have the good fortune to conquer them, what benefits ſhall we reap from our victory? *Cineas*, replied the king, when once we have conquered the *Romans*, there will be no town in all the country able to oppoſe us. We ſhall at once be maſters of all *Italy*, whoſe riches, ſtrength and power are better known to thee than to any other man.

And

And having ſubdued *Italy*, continued *Cineas*, after a ſhort pauſe, What ſhall we do next? *Sicily*, a rich and populous iſland, he replied, holds out her arms to receive us, and may be eaſily gained; for faction and anarchy prevail in all their towns, and every thing is at the diſcretion of the turbulent orators. That is highly probable, ſaid *Cineas*, but ſhall the poſſeſſion of *Sicily* put an end to the war? Far from it, cried *Pyrrhus*; for if fortune favours us with victory there, that ſhall be only the fore-runner of greater undertakings; for when *Sicily* is reduced, who can forbear *Lybia* and *Carthage*, then within our reach? And when we have added *Africa* to our conqueſts, certainly none of the enemies who now diſturb us will dare to make any farther reſiſtance. No, replied *Cineas*; for when we are arrived at ſuch mighty power, we ſhall ſoon recover *Macedon*, and govern *Greece* without controul. But when we have conquered all, what are we to do next? Why then, my friend, replied *Pyrrhus* laughing, we will live at our eaſe, drink and be merry. *Cineas* having brought him thus far, haſtily returned; And what hinders us now from living at our eaſe, and indulging mirth and pleaſure? We have already at hand what we are going to ſeek at the expence of ſo much blood, fatigue, and treaſure; and of ſo many calamities, which we ourſelves ſhall ſuffer, and which we ſhall inflict upon others.

Pyrrhus

Pyrrhus was, however, rather afflicted than corrected by this diſcourſe; for though he was convinced that he was foregoing a certain happineſs, he could not abandon his favourite hopes: he therefore detached *Cineas* with 3000 foot to *Tarentum*; and ſoon after there arrived from thence a great number of tranſports, gallies, and flat bottomed boats, on board of which he embarked twenty elephants, 3000 horſe, 20,000 foot, 2000 archers, and 500 ſlingers.

Pyrrhus, with this fleet, was no ſooner out at ſea, than he was overtaken by a violent ſtorm; but, by the great ſkill and reſolution of his officers and ſeamen, they with infinite labour made the *Italian* ſhore. The reſt of the fleet were however diſperſed. While the wind blew from the ſea, the king's ſhip, by its bulk and ſtrength, reſiſted the force of the waves; but the wind changing, and blowing directly from the ſhore, and the veſſel keeping up with its head againſt it, was in danger of opening by the ſhocks it received, or of being driven out to ſea, which continued very tempeſtuous. In this extremity, *Pyrrhus* leap'd over-board, and was inſtantly followed by his friends and guards, earneſtly contending who ſhould give him moſt aſſiſtance; but the darkneſs of the night, and the violence of the ſtorm, rendered it exceeding difficult to ſave him: however, the wind being conſiderably laid by day-break, he with much difficulty got aſhore, extremely weakened and fatigued. At the ſame time the

the *Meſſapians*, on whoſe coaſt he was thrown, ran to render him all the ſervice in their power, and met with ſome ſtraggling veſſels that had eſcaped the ſtorm; in which were a few horſes, two elephants, and not quite 2000 foot, with which *Pyrrhus* marched towards *Tarentum*; when *Cineas* being informed of his approach, drew out his forces to meet him.

Pyrrhus, on his firſt arrival, did not give the leaſt offence to the *Tarentines*; but hearing that all his ſhips were ſafe in the harbour, and being joined by the beſt part of his army, he began to change his conduct. He found that the citizens intended to remain idle at home, and to ſpend their time in bathing, feaſting, and idle diverſions, while he was fighting for them in the field. But this he would not ſuffer; he deprived them of their feaſts and ſhews; called the youth to arms, and treated with the moſt inflexible ſeverity, ſuch as did not appear at the muſters and military exerciſes; ſo that many who were unaccuſtomed to ſuch exact diſcipline, left the city, thinking that their not being ſuffered to enjoy a voluptuous life was the moſt inſupportable ſlavery.

Pyrrhus now receiving advice, that *Lævinus* the *Roman* conſul was marching towards him with a powerful army, and that he was already laying waſte *Lucania*, thought it a diſgrace to ſit ſtill; and though the confederate troops were not arrived, took the field; but before he marched, ſent an herald to the *Ro-*

mans, to propoſe terminating their differences with the *Greeks* of *Italy*, by allowing him to be umpire between them; but *Lævinus* told the herald, That the *Romans* would neither accept *Pyrrhus* for an arbiter, nor feared him as an enemy.

The king having received this anſwer, advanced with his troops; encamped in the plain between the cities of *Pandoſia* and *Heraclea*; and hearing that the *Romans* were encamped very near him, on the other ſide of the river *Siris*, he mounted on horſeback, and rode up to take a view of them: when ſeeing the appearance of their troops, their advanced guards, the fine order that univerſally prevailed, and the happy diſpoſition of their camp, he was ſurprized, and turning to one of his friends who was near him; "*Megacles*, ſaid he, the diſpoſitions of theſe "Barbarians are by no means barbarous; "we ſhall ſee how the reſt will anſwer this "appearance." This rendering him ſomewhat more doubtful of the event, he reſolved to wait the arrival of the confederates, and leſt the *Romans* ſhould in the mean time croſs the river, he planted troops along the banks to diſpute their paſſage: but they reſolving to attack him before the arrival of the forces he expected, attempted the paſſage with their infantry where it was fordable, the horſe getting over where they could. So that the *Greeks* on its banks dreading their being ſurrounded, were obliged to retreat.

Pyrrhus

Pyrrhus, much concerned at this news, immediately ordered the foot to form and ſtand to their arms, while he advanced at the head of the horſe, who amounted to about 3000, hoping he ſhould ſtill be able to diſpute the paſſage of the river: but ſeeing a vaſt number of ſhields glittering above the water, and the horſe advancing in good order, he drew up his men into a cloſer body and began the charge. He was ſoon known by the beauty and luſtre of his armour, which was exceeding rich, and by his actions ſhewed that the reputation he had acquired did not exceed his merit. For though he expoſed his perſon in the engagement, and fought with the greateſt bravery, his mind was ſtill free and undiſturbed, and he gave his orders with the utmoſt care and prudence; flying from place to place, and aſſiſting thoſe whom he thought moſt preſſed by the enemy.

In the heat of the action, *Leonatus*, a *Macedonian*, obſerving one of the *Italian* cavalry ſolely intent upon *Pyrrhus*, and following him every where with great ardour, ſaid to him, "Do you ſee, Sir, that Barbarian "on the black horſe? he ſeems filled with "ſome great deſign: his eyes are fixed on "thee: he appears to aim at no one elſe; "for all his fury appears levelled at "thee alone. Take care of him." "*Leo*-"*natus*, ſaid *Pyrrhus*, it is impoſſible for any "man to avoid his fate; but neither he, nor "any other *Italian*, ſhall gain much by en-"gaging me." While they were holding

this diſcourſe, the *Italian* poiſing his lance, and clapping ſpurs to his horſe, rode full againſt *Pyrrhus*; but miſſing him, killed his horſe, as *Leonatus* did the *Italian*'s, ſo that they both fell together. *Pyrrhus* was inſtantly ſurrounded by a crowd of his friends, who carrying him off, killed the *Italian*, who died fighting with the utmoſt bravery.

This adventure taught *Pyrrhus* to uſe more caution, and to take more care of his perſon; and now ſeeing his cavalry give ground, he brought up his infantry, gave his robe and his armour to *Megacles*, one of his friends, and diſguiſing himſelf in his, vigorouſly charged the *Romans*, who made a brave reſiſtance: the ſucceſs of the battle remained long doubtful; and it is ſaid that each army ſeven times gave way, and as often returned to the charge.

Pyrrhus changed his arms very opportunely for ſaving his life; but, on the other hand, it almoſt loſt him the victory; for the enemy ruſhed in crowds upon *Megacles*; and *Dexcüs*, who firſt wounded and overthrew him, ſeizing his robe and helmet, rode full ſpeed to *Lævinus*, crying that he had ſlain *Pyrrhus*. Theſe ſpoils were immediately carried through the ranks, and the cries of victory now reſounded on all ſides, while the army of the *Greeks* were filled with conſternation. But *Pyrrhus* perceiving the miſtake, ran through his lines, with his face uncovered, holding out his hands to his ſoldiers, and making himſelf known by his voice and geſtures.

geſtures. The battle being renewed, the elephants at laſt principally determined the victory; for the horſes, unable to bear the ſight of them even at a diſtance, recoiled back with their riders; when *Pyrrhus* ordering the *Theſſalian* cavalry to charge the *Romans* while in this diſorder, gave them a total overthrow. According to *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* near 15,000 of the *Romans* were ſlain; but *Hieronymus* computes their loſs to be only 7000. On *Pyrrhus*'s ſide, *Dionyſius* ſays, there were 13,000 ſlain; *Hieronymus* makes them leſs than 4000; but they were the flower of his troops, among whom were his chief friends, and his beſt officers, in whom he moſt confided, and whom he always employed on important occaſions.

Immediately *Pyrrhus* ſeized the *Roman* camp which he found abandoned; and without loſing time drew off ſeveral of their confederate cities, waſted the country all around, and advanced within thirty-ſeven miles of *Rome*. After the battle, he was joined by the *Lucanians* and *Samnites*, whom he ſharply reproved for their delay; yet it plainly appeared that he ſecretly rejoiced that he had defeated ſo great an army of the *Romans* with no other aſſiſtance but that of the *Tarentines*.

Notwithſtanding this defeat, the *Romans* would not recall *Lævinus* their conſul; tho' they were told by *Fabricius*, that the *Romans* were not defeated by the *Epirots*, but *Lævinus* by *Pyrrhus*. They immediately raiſed

freſh forces; at which the king being amazed, reſolved to try whether they were diſpoſed to conclude a peace; for he now thought it impoſſible with ſuch an army as his to make himſelf maſter of *Rome*. He ſent *Cineas* on this errand to that city, who had a conference with the chief men of *Rome*, to each of whom he gave preſents from the king, and alſo to their wives; but they all refuſed them, the women, as well as the men declaring, that at the concluſion of the peace, they would readily give the king all poſſible demonſtrations of their reſpect. *Cineas* being admitted to an audience of the ſenate, made a ſpeech, in which he endeavoured in a graceful manner to incline them to an accommodation. But, though *Pyrrhus* had offered to releaſe the priſoners without ranſom, and to aſſiſt the *Romans* in the entire conqueſt of *Italy*; deſiring nothing in return but their friendſhip, and ſecurity for the *Tarentines*, they rejected his propoſals. There were ſome indeed who ſeemed inclined to a peace; but *Appius Claudius*, who on account of his great age and loſs of ſight, had retired from public affairs, hearing of the king's offers, and that it was probable they would be accepted, could not contain himſelf, but cauſing his ſervants to carry him in his chair to the ſenate-houſe, was ſet down at the door, and led in by his ſon. At his appearance, the whole aſſembly obſerved a reſpectful ſilence, and he ſpoke to the following purpoſe: "Till now, O *Romans!* I have con-

"ſidered

" ſidered my loſs of ſight as a misfortune;
" but you have brought me to wiſh that I
" was as deaf as I am blind, that I might
" not hear the ſhameful reſolutions, by
" which you would efface all the glory of
" *Rome*. Where are your boaſts, that if *A-*
" *lexander* the Great had invaded *Italy*, and
" turned his arms againſt us, he would not
" now have been called invincible; but
" either by his flight or his death, would
" have added freſh glory to the *Roman*
" name? How vain were theſe boaſts?
" Are you not afraid of the *Moloſſians* and
" *Chaonians?* Of thoſe who were always
" conquered by the *Macedonians?* You trem-
" ble at the name of *Pyrrhus*, who has been
" educated in a dependance on one of *Alex-*
" *ander*'s guards. Hither he is come leſs to
" ſuccour the *Greeks* who dwell amongſt us,
" than to eſcape from his enemies at home;
" and has the inſolence to promiſe us the
" conqueſt of *Italy* with the very army with
" which he was unable to preſerve a ſmall
" part of *Macedon*. But your entering into
" an alliance with him, will only open a
" door to new invaders, who will conſider
" you as an eaſy conqueſt, if *Pyrrhus* eſ-
" capes without being puniſhed for his pre-
" ſumption."

Appius no ſooner ceaſed ſpeaking, than they unanimouſly voted for the continuance of the war; telling *Cineas*, That when *Pyrrhus* had drawn his forces out of *Italy*, they ſhould be ready to enter into an alliance with him; but while he ſtaid there in arms, they would pro-

ſecute

ſecute the war againſt him, though he ſhould defeat a thouſand *Lævinuſes*. It is ſaid, that while *Cineas* was there, he made it his buſineſs to ſtudy the manners of the *Romans*, and afterwards diſcourſing with *Pyrrhus* on that ſubject, he told him, That the ſenate ſeemed like an aſſembly of kings; and that the people were ſo numerous, that he feared they had to do with another Hydra: for *Lævinus* had already an army twice as large as the former, and yet had left in *Rome* an infinite number of *Romans* capable of bearing arms.

Fabricius being afterwards ſent ambaſſador to *Pyrrhus*, to treat of the ranſom of the priſoners, *Cineas* told that prince that tho' he was very poor, he was revered by the *Romans* for his virtue, and was an excellent ſoldier. *Pyrrhus* received him with great kindneſs, and offered him ſome gold, not to engage him in any diſhonourable deſign, but as a pledge of his friendſhip. *Fabricius* refuſing to accept it, he preſſed him no farther; but being willing to try whether he was as intrepid as he was diſintereſted, and knowing that he had never ſeen an elephant, he the next day had one of the largeſt compleatly armed, placed behind a curtain in the room where they held their conference; when upon a ſign given, the curtain was drawn aſide, and the elephant raiſing his trunk over *Fabricius*'s head, made a frightful noiſe. But *Fabricius* turning about, ſaid with a ſmile, "Neither your gold yeſterday, nor your "elephant

" elephant to-day, can make any impreſ-
" ſion on me."

That evening the diſcourſe at table turned on the affairs of *Greece*, and particularly on the different ſects of philoſophers. *Cineas* dwelt particularly on the *Epicureans*, obſerving that they placed the chief happineſs of man in pleaſure, and attributed to the gods neither love nor hatred, maintaining, that they were perfectly regardleſs of human affairs, and lived whole ages in total inactivity, plunged in an eternal circle of pleaſures. But while *Cineas* was ſtill ſpeaking, *Fabricius* cried out, " O heavens! may *Pyrrhus* and " the *Samnites* hold this doctrine as long as " they are at war with the *Romans*." His virtue and greatneſs of mind filled *Pyrrhus* with ſuch admiration, that he became more deſirous than ever of being the friend rather than the enemy of the *Romans*; and, in a private conference, endeavoured to perſuade *Fabricius* to procure a peace between him and that people, and then to ſettle in his court, where he ſhould be his moſt intimate friend, and the chief of his generals. But though all his arguments were ineffectual, he was ſo far from being offended, that he entruſted the priſoners to *Fabricius*, on condition that if the ſenate refuſed to conclude a peace, they ſhould be ſent back, after they had viſited their friends and relations, and celebrated the *Saturnalia*. Accordingly, after that feſtival they were ſent back, the ſenate having decreed,

creed, that if any ſtaid behind they ſhould ſuffer death.

Fabricius was conſul the following year, and was at the head of the army, when he received a letter from *Pyrrhus*'s phyſician, in which he offered, on condition of his receiving a reward proportionable to his ſervice, to poiſon *Pyrrhus*, and thus put an end to the war without hazard to the *Romans*. But ſhocked at the baſeneſs of this propoſal, he by the conſent of *Quintus Æmilius*, his colleague, wrote to *Pyrrhus* to inform him of the villainy of his phyſician; who having made ſtrict enquiry into his treaſon, had him executed, and in return for the generoſity of the *Romans*, ſent the priſoners to *Rome* without ranſom, and again commiſſioned *Cineas* to negociate a peace. In return, the *Romans* being unwilling to receive an obligation from an enemy, or a reward for not having complied with ſo baſe a propoſal, returned him an equal number of the *Samnites* and *Tarentines*: but would not ſuffer *Cineas* to mention a peace, till *Pyrrhus* had ſailed back with his forces to *Epirus*.

Pyrrhus finding it impoſſible to avoid a ſecond engagement, attacked the *Romans* near *Aſculum*, where he ſuffered much from the unevenneſs of the ground, and its being covered with wood, which was inconvenient to the cavalry, and entirely prevented the elephants from coming up with the infantry. Thus he loſt many of his men, and had great numbers wounded. Night put an end to the battle.

battle. But the next day, reſolving to engage on a more even and open ſpot, he ſent early in the morning to take poſſeſſion of the incommodious poſt where he had engaged the day before: then drawing up his army, and diſpoſing a great number of ſlingers and archers among his elephants, marched in good order againſt the enemy.

After a long and obſtinate fight, the *Romans* were forced to give ground, particularly in that part where *Pyrrhus* fought in perſon; ſo ſtrong was the impreſſion he made at the head of his phalanx. But what chiefly contributed to their defeat, was the weight and force of the elephants, which bore down all before them. As the battle was fought at no great diſtance from their camp, they ſoon reach'd it. In this action *Hieronymus* ſays, the *Romans* loſt 6000 men, and *Pyrrhus*, according to his own commentaries, no more than 3505. But *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* mentions only one engagement, which he ſays laſted till the ſun was down: he obſerves, that *Pyrrhus* was wounded in the arm by a javelin; that his baggage was plundered by the *Samnites*; that the armies ſeparated at night with great unwillingneſs, and that there were about 15,000 killed on both ſides.

Both armies being retired, *Pyrrhus* was congratulated on his victory; upon which he replied, Such another will undo us; for he had indeed loſt the greateſt part of the forces he had brought out of *Epirus*, and almoſt all his particular friends, while the confederates were

were very slow in joining him. But the *Roman* camp was continually supplied, as from a fountain, with fresh troops flowing out of the city.

While he was in the midst of these difficulties, ambassadors arrived from *Sicily* to desire him to expel their tyrants, and drive the *Carthaginians* out of the island, offering to surrender to him *Syracuse*, *Agrigentum*, and the city of the *Leontines*. At the same time he received news from *Greece*, that *Ptolemy Ceraunus* having some time before been slain in battle by the *Gauls*, the *Macedonians* were not averse to his being their king. He now began to accuse fortune for giving him, at the same instant, two such glorious opportunities of action, since if he laid hold on one, he must necessarily relinquish the other. After much deliberation, he chose the *Sicilian* expedition, which he imagined, afforded the largest field of glory. He instantly dispatched *Cineas* to treat with the cities, and prepare them for his arrival. Mean while he placed a strong garrison in *Tarentum*, though the inhabitants endeavoured to persuade him to stay and continue the war with the *Romans*, or to leave the city as he found it.

On his arrival in *Sicily*, the cities readily submitted to him, and wherever his arms were necessary, he carried all before him; for with 30,000 foot, 2500 horse, and 200 ships, he entirely vanquished the *Phœnicians*, and overturned their government. *Eryx* the strongest town in their possession, having a good

a good garriſon, he reſolved to take it by ſtorm. When his army was ready to give the aſſault, he put on his armour, and placing himſelf at the head of his troops, vowed, in caſe he was victorious to offer ſacrifices and games in honour of *Hercules*. Then giving the ſignal by ſound of trumpet, he with a ſhower of arrows drove the Barbarians from the walls, planted his ladders, and was himſelf the firſt who mounted them. He was there attacked by a multitude of enemies, ſome of whom he drove back, others he threw down head-long on each ſide, while thoſe he ſlew with his ſword lay in heaps around him; and yet he eſcaped without a wound. The city was taken, after which he offered a magnificent ſacrifice to *Hercules*, and exhibited ſhews and combats.

The *Mamertines*, who inhabited the city of *Meſſina*, were of all the Barbarians, thoſe who moſt oppreſſed the *Greeks*; they having render'd the greateſt part of them tributary: but *Pyrrhus* ſeizing their collectors, put them to death; he afterwards defeated the *Mamertines* in a pitched battle, and deſtroyed moſt of their towns. The *Carthaginians* at length offered to pay a ſum of money, and to furniſh him with ſhips, on condition of his concluding a peace with them; but he reſolved to grant this on no other terms, but their abandoning *Sicily*, and making the *Libyan* ſea the boundary between them and the *Greeks*.

Elated with his ſurprizing ſucceſs, he now reſolved to purſue the plan, for the ſake of

which he had engaged in this expedition. His chief aim was againſt *Africa*, where he intended to extend his victorious arms. He had hitherto endeavoured by kindneſs to gain the affections of the *Sicilians*, and placing an entire confidence in them, abſtained from all violence and oppreſſion; but now he endeavoured to man his fleet for his *African* expedition, by forcing the inhabitants into his ſervice, and he was ſoon reproached with cruelty, falſhood and ingratitude. But what chiefly alienated them from him was his behaviour to *Thonon* and *Soſtratus*, who had greater authority than any other perſons in *Syracuſe*. At their invitation, he firſt ſet ſail for *Sicily*; they had ſurrendered the city to him at his arrival, and were afterwards his principal agents. Yet growing jealous of them, he was unwilling either to take them with him, or to ſuffer them to ſtay behind. *Soſtratus* dreading what might happen, made his eſcape; but *Thonon* being ſeized, was accuſed by *Pyrrhus* of being an accomplice with *Soſtratus*, and put him to death. This at once ruined his affairs; for the cities on this account conceived ſuch an hatred againſt him, that ſome of them admitted the *Carthaginians*, and others entered into a confederacy againſt him with the *Mamertines*.

While *Pyrrhus* was under the apprehenſions that this defection would become general, he received letters from the *Samnites* and *Tarentines*, informing him that they had been twice defeated, and being unable to defend

defend their towns againſt the *Romans*, earneſtly entreated him to come to their aſſiſtance. Theſe letters furniſhing him with an honourable pretence for leaving *Sicily*, he abandoned that iſland, which he could no longer keep; when the Barbarians entering into a confederacy againſt him, he was attacked and defeated by a *Carthaginian* fleet in his paſſage, and after loſing many of his ſhips, was obliged to fly with the reſt to *Italy*; where 10,000 *Mamertines* having paſſed over before him, lay in wait in ſome narrow paſſes. Upon his arrival, he was attacked by this body, and his whole army put into confuſion. On this occaſion he loſt two of his elephants, and great part of his rear was cut to pieces. He immediately advanced in perſon from the van to their aſſiſtance, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf with ſurprizing valour againſt men who were perſonally exaſperated, and by long practice were trained to war. A wound in his hand forced him to retire a little from the place of action: this gave freſh courage to the *Mamertines*; one of whom, of an amazing ſize, and ſplendidly armed, advanced before the ranks, and with a loud and diſdainful voice, challenged the king, if he was yet alive, to come forth. Enraged at this challenge, *Pyrrhus* returned, attended by his guards, ſtorming with rage, and all over beſmeared with blood, he pierced through his battalions, and ruſhing upon the Barbarian, without allowing him time to defend himſelf, gave him ſuch a blow, as clove

him down to the very ſeat. At which the Barbarians, ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, conſidered him as ſomething more than mortal, and retired.

Pyrrhus now continued his march without oppoſition, and arrived at *Tarentum*, with 20,000 foot and 3000 horſe; where re-inforcing himſelf with a choſen body of the *Tarentine* troops, he immediately advanced againſt the *Romans*, who were encamped in the territories of the *Samnites*; and dividing his army into two parts, ſent the firſt into *Lucania* to oppoſe one of the conſuls there, in order to prevent his aſſiſting his colleague, while he himſelf marched in perſon againſt *Manius Curius* the other conſul, who was advantageouſly encamped near *Beneventum*, waiting for reinforcements. *Pyrrhus*, eager to engage him before he was joined by theſe, draughted out the beſt of his troops, and chuſing the boldeſt and ſtrongeſt of his elephants, marched by night towards the *Roman* camp: but being forced to take a circuit through a woody country, his lights failed him, and his ſoldiers loſt their way in the dark. This obliged him to halt, in order to rally them, and his approach was diſcovered by the *Romans*. The conſul drawing a body of troops out of the trenches, charged and routed the vanguard. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, he drew out his whole army, and engaging *Pyrrhus* in a pitch'd battle, defeated one of his wings, while the other was borne down by the elephants, and forced back to the

the trenches. The conſul then ordering a body he had left to guard the camp to advance, they ruſh'd forward, wounded the elephants with their darts, and driving them back on *Pyrrhus*'s battalions, threw them into ſuch confuſion, that the *Romans* obtained a compleat victory.

Though *Pyrrhus* thus loſt all his *Italian* and *Sicilian* hopes, after his having ſpent ſix years in theſe wars, yet he preſerved his courage amidſt all his misfortunes. He returned to *Epirus* with 8000 foot, and 500 horſe; but his want of money now made him ſeek for another war in order to maintain them. Being joined by a body of *Gauls*, he invaded *Macedon*, where *Antigonus*, the ſon of *Demetrius*, then reigned. His firſt deſign was only to ravage the country; but having taken ſeveral towns, and being joined by 2000 of the inhabitants, he marched againſt *Antigonus*, and ſurprizing him in a narrow paſs, threw his whole army into diſorder; and a numerous body of *Gauls* who brought up *Antigonus*'s rear, were moſt of them cut to pieces, and all *Antigonus*'s elephants were taken. At length, *Pyrrhus* ſtretching out his hand, called aloud to the officers of the *Macedonian* phalanx, and prevailed both on them and the whole body of the infantry to deſert *Antigonus*, who was thus forced to fly, and endeavour to keep the poſſeſſion of ſome of the maritime towns.

This victory was ſucceeded by *Pyrrhus*'s taking ſeveral cities, among which was *Ægæ*, into

into which he put a garriſon, conſiſting of ſome of the *Gauls* who had ſerved in his army: but they were no ſooner in poſſeſſion of the place, than they dug up the tombs of the kings, ſeized on all the wealth that had been buried with them, and with inſolent contempt ſcattered about their bones. *Pyrrhus* did not ſeem at all offended at this ignominious inſult; perhaps deferring his reſentment till a more proper time; but by this he loſt his credit with the *Macedonians*.

About this time, *Cleonymus* coming to ſolicit *Pyrrhus* to replace him on the throne of *Sparta*, he marched with an army of 20,000 foot, 2000 horſe, and 24 elephants. Theſe extraordinary preparations rendered it evident that he came not ſo much to gain *Sparta* for *Cleonymus*, as to take all *Peloponneſus* for himſelf: yet this he expreſsly denied to the *Lacedæmonian* ambaſſadors who met him on the road. But he no ſooner entered *Laconia*, than he began to ravage the country: when the ambaſſadors complaining that theſe acts of hoſtility were committed without a declaration of war, he replied, You *Lacedæmonians* never make public proclamation of your intentions? At which a *Spartan*, who was preſent, anſwered in the *Laconic* dialect: "If thou art a god, thou wilt do us no harm, "becauſe we have done thee none; and if "thou art a man, we may find others as "ſtrong as thee."

Pyrrhus in the mean time continued his march towards *Lacedæmon*, and was adviſed

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